AKWESASNE NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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Genocide in Brazil
The New U.S. Frontier in the Pacific
Puerto Rico De-colonizes
Mercury Poisoning in Ontario
Bicentennial: The Native perspective

Pauline K. Pershing 5/3
1741 Peachtree Lane
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19401

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US

Living and Working at AKWESASNE NOTES means:

– looking for a car to take the mail to the post office.

– watching the dog sleep by the wood-stove 14 hours straight.

– fighting for your people.

– fighting for a quiet place to do your work.

– getting a phone call from Russell Means at 2 a.m.

– baking 10 loaves of bread and having them eaten at one meal.

– having 30 people sleep in a six-room house one night, 3 the next.

– pretending you don't know where the compost pile is when the kitchen scraps need emptying.

– looking for a ball-point pen.

– never getting to use the washroom.

– hoping no one steps on you in the night.

– a privilege.

– Snowbird

Tsewen, Sun Clan of the Tewa Nation at Tesuque Pueblo, and Coyote of the Ylaki Nation of the Pacific Redwoods, long-time travellers with White Roots of Peace as well as contributors to AKWESASNE NOTES, have decided to support each other in life and are building a log home in the mountains of California. We hope that their gardens are good, that their happiness is great, and that their journey together brings new strength to the nations of their grandfathers.

AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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And if for some reason you're getting two copies and need only one, please send us BOTH address labels so we can find the duplication.

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page – check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month it is many of those whose zip codes begin with 4 and a few 5s, plus Saskatchewan and a few European nations who are "red-labelled." ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although it might be a good time to renew your support.

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kahérehare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird & Dorothy Ann, Mickey Posluns, Kanaweienton, Juan Reyna & Juanito & 'Kota, Jayne George, Rokwaho, Karla & Howard, Susie Boots, Colleen, Cambridge Steve, German Siegge, Dutch Andre, Hal, Peter Blue Cloud, Sarah Greensfelder & Louie, special art work by Kahonhes, Ralph & Natasha Friar, Nettie Tamler, Frieda Jacques, Francis & Katsi, Moose Smoke, and many more.

We need expert advice on installation of a small generating system capable of turning amperes. The alternating – preferably is a small waterwheel – or it could be wind. Persons who would assist in designing such a setup, or assisting in installation, or advising sources of equipment, etc., are invited to write to AKWESASNE NOTES, Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

We are very grateful to all our friends who have sent us books, magazines, documents, and equipment of value to enable us to do our work. This material aid is not only indicative of the political and moral support we receive from friends in nations all over the world, but it gives us the strength and encouragement to continue our task.

The World Council of Churches has allocated grants to 19 organizations fighting racism, including liberation movements in Rhodesia and South Africa, and to AKWESASNE NOTES. The funds will come from the Council's Special Fund to Combat Racism, a program that has come under continued attack for its alleged support of African guerrilla enterprises. Other North American groups to receive grants were the American Indian Movement and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in the United States.

The NOTES grant will enable us to begin a special series of publications, including a number of 24-page pamphlets on "The Best of Akwesasne Notes" which will be useful in schools, churches, reservation groups, and for individual reading.

We are grateful to those who have caused this support of our efforts to come about.

THINGS WE NEED AT NOTES:

used sheets and pillowcases
used towels and washclothes
warm socks
hairbrushes
a dehumidifier
fishing equipment (poles, lures, etc.)
snowshoes, tobogans, sleds,
maple syrup equipment
t-shirts
yarn, fabric, quilt scraps

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

[illegible] your own materials – articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists – we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper – native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check at your local city, county, community, university, high school LIBRARIES to see if they have a paid subscription to NOTES. If they don't, suggest that they get one. Suggest too that they order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials.

form a committee – or go by yourself – to check bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops. If they don't know about our books, crafts, or smoking mixtures, tell them to write – or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create alternatives, to inform. NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

hawkwind moon

A Road

I stood being a part of the audience
While the dancers danced
to the beat of the drum.

They are not dancing for me
to see.
In their hearts they know
why they dance.

My heart begins to feel the
drum beats.
My feet slowly tapping with it.
My eyes watch seeing the truth.

Quietly in my heart I sing.
Suddenly I realize
I am part of the dance,
the song and the dancers.

I see it in the dancers.
I see it in the singers.
I see it in the drum.
I see it in the song.

Then the drum stops.
The singing stops.
And the dancers stop.
I stop.

But the echo remains
for me to follow.
I wait for another dance
to show me the truth.

— Tsewaa

Wolf Path

Bright streak on the sky
walking with me through
an endurance of ages:
I am hard as the black dike
thrusting through the crested snow;
I am a rock within the deepest mountain;
a rock of songs,
bells,
and reason of all nature;
I am strong together with the ancients
thundering through a silted land;
I am one with my brother
the deepest mountain;
a rock of songs,
bells,
and reason of all nature;
I am strong together with the ancients
thundering through a silted land;
I am one with my brother
hearing his visions
seeing his path.
Reverent to each bird's flight
I will continue in you bright wake
and shine in the morning sun.

— Long-neck Woman

The Eternal Council Fire

Smoke no sacred totems
to me
when I die
for since tribal man
began storing memories
have I been a part
of all life
I have known
the hero
and the coward
my feathered lance
has touched
both the deer
and the bear
I have understood
the ways
of the great bison
tracked the elk
in his high manor
learned
the hiding place
of the beaver
and how eagles
are trapped
for their feathers
I have been blessed
with sweet friends
and strong enemies
tasted loyalty
and betrayal
I have heard
the tales
of old men
that only the rocks
live forever
and a warrior
is born
but for a season
still
no bitter grass
grows in my mouth
when the seven wolves
of death
steal into my lodge
I'll not be pinioned
to the ground
by bison thongs
like some old
staked out brave
no, I shall meet
this new challenge
as I have
all others
and when the thing
is finished
I'll plat my hair
into warrior's braids
gird my chest
with my prized vest
of porcupine quills
and elk teeth
tie on
my best
breechcloth
and my
finest
fringed winter leggings
on my feet
I shall wear
the beaded moccasins
of my father
and across
my shoulders
shall rest
a light robe
made for me
from the skin
of a young bison
by my faithful wife
in my left hand I shall hold
the pipe of peace
and in my right hand
the lance
of a fallen enemy
then I shall
take my place
at the eternal council fire
alongside
the many brave
and noble chieftains
who have ridden
their spotted ponies
into this grassy
game-filled
valley of promise
before me
and there
I shall know
the happiness
that my people
have sung of
since before the rivers
were formed

— Ross Laursen
Folsom Prison

We Need An Apology

trussed up in manila rope
still bleeding sap
from the bite of your Sears
chain saw
we need an apology from you
before you dress us with
glass balls and lights

wrapped in freezer paper
holding frozen blood
from the bite of your hollow-
point bullet
we need an apology from you
before you eat us with
wine and mushrooms

soaking in the tanning vat
scraped hairless by your buck
skinning knife
we need an apology from you
before you wear us with
buttons and zippers.

living here in the forest
feeling clean breezes and
soft rains
we need an apology from you
before you come and use us again

— Cliff Siple, Jr.

Circles

Going around in
circles wondering
why
but
knowing
at the end of each turn
all the reasons for circles
only to
all the reasons
for circles
begin again wondering why

all the reasons
for circles
begin again wondering why

Thank You
Creator
for the
great mystery
of around and around
and around
and around

—Juan Manuel Gomez

whisper with the wind.....
and laugh with the water.....

a hawkwind is blowing
pushing the seasons on to another,
and this wind. hawkwind
has become a mouthpiece
on this full moon.
night pushes too, inside
the secrets strain to
be set face to face with
me standing,
hawkwind whispering all
around.

i hear you. . .

— curt

Eagle

i took
flight
into mystery . . .
into time,
i flew on,
below me earth
my mother . . .
above me sun,
my wings expand,
like the wind . . .
and within me
the air of life
breaths on . . .
i flew . . .
into time . . .
life of sky,
surrounding my very
existence . . .
weightless against
invisible light . . .
i flew on . . .
soaring over life
below . . .
escaping.

"I am eagle,
i possess spiritual
power,
i am myself."

Cesspooch
Northern Ute Nation
August 8, 1974

Brave Song

People,

People,
Listen to me,
I am me.
Do not try to change me!

— Blue Jacket

the earth

& my people
are as one . . .
yet you ask
us to forget
how can the
earth mother
not remember
what has been
done

how can we
forget or hide
the scars you
left upon
our face

truly, white man
how can we
forget?

— karoniaktatie

Miracle

If in your search
you come across a
deaf, dumb, blind person

know that he is
truth.

And if you
come across a
mindless, crippled
one

know that he is
justice.

And if you
come across a
smiling, friendly
one
with eyes of
night
and breath of
yesterday

know that he is
death

But if you
come across a
person
whose eyes shine
of tomorrow's
butterflies
If he is colored
like the peacock
and smells like
all the flowers
If he speaks
to you
in a strange
indian
tongue
of star
filled dreams

and things
that never were

Follow his every
lead
he is the miracle
that you've
been searching for . . .

— L. Moreno

Death at Oglala, S.D.

Death is never easy, seldom is it planned –
AIM does not go out & say, "Let's kill us a man."
But on the Pine Ridge Reservation,
Death's a way of life,
AIM supporters die there by guns and clubs and knife
Women in their 80s,
Children not yet ten,
die there without warning, die with awful pain.
One a week, then two a week,
The death toll grows and grows.
How many, counting hidden bodies?
No one really knows!

The FBI ignores it,
Until their own are killed.
Then suddenly and silently,
The countryside is filled
With men in khaki jackets
Carrying loaded guns
And trucks & jeeps & halftracks
& planes that carry bombs.
I guess the deaths don't matter much
unless the body's white.
Those who kill Red People
sleep peacefully tonight.

– Bob Bacon

DEATH AT OGLALA

Oglala, South Dakota – The U.S. alliance with Dick Wilson's regime finally netted the political police force two casualties when on June 26, two FBI special agents were killed, bringing the news of violence and reign of terror at Pine Ridge into the living rooms of white America. One native man was also killed, and following the incident, there was increased harassment and the first "search and destroy" mission carried out within the borders of the U.S. since the last Indian wars.

At first, the U.S. reports were dramatic. The agents had been "ambushed" from "sophisticated bunkers" as they approached a small cluster of houses to serve "kidnapping" warrants. The agents were dragged from their cars, the U.S. said, and in an "execution" hit "15 to 20 times" with bullets. The "barricaded band of thirty Indians" "escaped" through open fields after a "ten-hour gun battle" and after 300 police reinforcements had surrounded the site.

While that report might make a good movie plot, it turned out to be simply untrue. Officials have been forced to admit there was no "ambush", there were no "bunkers," there were no "executions," the agents were not "riddled with bullets", the agents were no-where near the houses which the U.S. forces shot at, the FBI does not know how many people were inside the houses or anything about the escape. In fact, at this time, no one really knows what did happen, although there are some eye-witness reports which can be pieced together to recreate what likely happeued.

The Jumping Bull property lies south of U.S. Highway 18, with three houses within sight of the blacktop road a few hundred yards away. It is 3 miles east of Oglala, and 15 miles west of Pine Ridge. The area is littered with wrecks of a dozen old cars, kept around for spare parts and because there is no place else for them to be. A handpump and well furnish water. Several small corrals are linked next to White Clay Creek. In one is a ramshackle animal shelter made of logs with a hay roof. Bales of hay dot another corral. In the meadow lie tireless, windowless, seatless cars, an iron-wheeled buckboard, a rusted hay-rake, and a horse-drawn mower. Down in the meadow, by the horse shelter, one looks north, back up to the bluff top 300 yards away. There two root cellars peer our, door frames rotted and tilting.

Above the root cellars are three buttes distant [illegible]s is the first, to the left. Buried in a clump of houses. John (Wallace) trees is Harry Jumping Bull's three-room structure of peeling stucco. Next to the house is an old garage, filled with junk. A basketball hoop is nailed to a backboard attached to a bent tree trunk. To the right on the bluff's edge is the tar-paper shack, a car wreck protecting its south side.

In the midst of this clump of houses is a pine-bough sunshade to give shelter from the ovenlike sun.

Harry Jumping Bull and his wife, Celia, had celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary a week or so before their homesite became a scene of violence. Family, friends, and the group camped deep in the woods down by White Clay Creek on the Jumping Bull's property had attended the lively affair. The Jumping Bulls have six living children, and lots of grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Harry Jumping Bull is in his 80s, known as a warm and hospitable man who never turns a stranger away nor turns away from a stranger. He has been active in the Episcopal Church and general betterment of his people.

Wallace Little had been an active worker for the International Treaty Council, and at Oglala, he had been trying to organize the Oglalas to withdraw their leases to the white ranchers on their land, and get together a herd of cattle as a means of working their way out of the desperate poverty in which they find themselves.

Earlier this spring, Dennis Banks and several AIM supporters rented a small two-room green tar-paper shack and a camp site from Jumping Bull so they would be near to Custer, South Dakota, where Banks is on trial. There had been little concern and no trouble over their presence.

Several times during the week prior to the incident, FBI agents had come to the house, saying they were looking for "Jimmy Eagle", a person who did not live at the house or frequent it.

June 26 seemed to be a special day. Around Oglala that morning, BIA police and goons employed by the tribal council had been cruising the roads shooting at houses and anyone outside. Roadblocks – apparently of goons – had been set up as early as noon. FBI agents again went to the home, owned by John Little, and conducted a search for Jimmy Eagle once more. Witnesses said the FBI agents had arrived in separate cars. They parked, approached the house, but didn't enter, first walking around it. They were told Jimmy Eagle wasn't there, nor did he ever come there. They were told not to come back. "We'll do whatever we want to do," one replied.

When pressed for legal justification for their presence on the land, the FBI agents pointed to a crumpled paper on which names of four men were written, residents of other areas on the reservation, and said they had warrants for their arrest.

After a time, the FBI agents left. An eye-witness said that as they left, they spotted a pick-up truck, and decided to give chase. The two cars sped off in the dust. A few minutes later, and a quarter-mile from the Jumping Bull Hall, there was shooting.

Back-up agents arrived at the scene at 11:30, and within an hour or so additional agents and BIA policemen were firing at persons in at least two of the three houses.

What happened next is uncertain, but it is believed that there were further exchanges of gunfire, resulting in the death of agents Jack Coler, 28, of Colorado Springs, Colorado, and Ronald A. Williams, 28, of Rapid City, South Dakota.

During a break in the frenzy of firing on the houses, a 12-year-old boy came out with his hands held high. But he had to drop and beat a retreat when he was fired upon by the lawmen.

While the barrage of shots was fired, there were Indian children on the floors of all three bullet-riddled houses.

Massive reinforcements arrived by the busload with trucks loaded with ammunition, guns, and supplies in the caravan. FBI agents flew in from Oklahoma, Chicago, Denver, Washington D.C., and Minneapolis. Helicopters circled the area, and an armored personnel carrier was parked alongside the BIA agency office in Pine Ridge.

An FBI spokesman in Washington told newsmen, "We're going to make sure that the people who killed our agents don't get out of there." Among those dispatched to the reservation were two Special Weapons Attacks Teams, comprising a total of a dozen or more of the agents.

Most of the people in the houses headed for the bush after the first sounds of gunfire and with the arrival of the police. The Littles had evacuated by 12:30 or so, and Avis and Angie Long Visitors had also left in anticipation of what was to follow.

Although no one knows yet for certain, it is likely that the siege on the houses was all one-sided, and was provoked more by the uncoordinated, anxious and nervous law enforcement officials firing at each other. Much of the speculation and official versions seem to have been started because of the embarrassment of finding after the lengthy "shoot out" that the lawmen had been firing at dwellings containing a few unarmed families.

When the assault was over, the hundreds of officers found only a woman and a few children who had endured the ordeal. And thus came the highly-improbable tale that sixteen men and eight women, in broad daylight, surrounded by 300 armed police officers, had emerged from a tiny one-room house and escaped. Some officials even speculated they had been on horseback.

FBI area director Joseph Trimbach told the press that the bodies of the agents had been riddled with bullets and stripped of personal possessions.

"HASN'T ANYONE IN AMERICA GOT A HEART FOR HUMANITY & HONESTY?"

[During the aftermath of the shoot-ing of two FBI agents, Gladys Bissonette called Natasha Friar of WBAI, a New York people's radio station, to make this plea.]

My name is Gladys Bissonette and I'm an Oglala Sioux, a traditional Lakota, from Pine Ridge Reservation.

There has to be something done about the FBI and the whole entire government who are trying to take over the whole reservation. They have threatened to sweep the whole reservation clean, to search every Indian home. They have threatened to get one more AIM to match up the deaths of the FBI personnel. The APCs and the jeeps have been brought in.

I am asking for help from all over to help these traditional Indians who are unarmed, who are so hard up they can't buy even a bean-shooter, let alone a gun.

We need all the support we can [get]. We do not want a confrontation with anybody.

We need legal, honest workers here, and we are asking for help, for people throughout the nation to help us, as the news media carries all the dirty, corrupted cover-up news.

But I am speaking on behalf of the poor, traditional people. I am begging for help from anyone, anywhere, to stop this – before they kill, slaughter, a bunch of poor people.

What do we have to do to have our voices and pleas for help [heard?]

Hasn't anyone in America got a heart for humanity and honesty?

We need your help.

– Voices from Wounded Knee photo

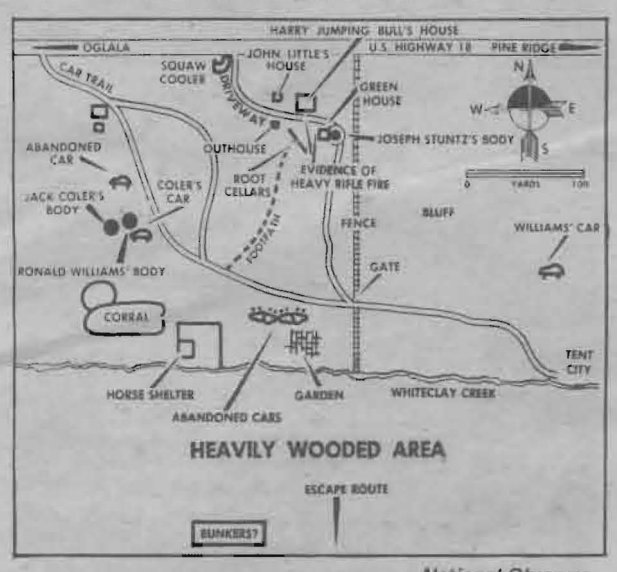
Gladys Bissonette

Another official told newsmen the scene was "one of the most horrible things I've ever seen."

The hysteria grew as an FBI spokesman in Washington "confirmed" earlier reports from state officials. "The Indians had bunkers, trenches. For all purposes, it was a prepared ambush."

U.S. President Gerald Ford asked the Justice Department to keep him informed of developments. A White House spokesman said the President was "saddened by the tragic loss of life and expects a full investigation and prosecution" of any persons charged in connection with the shootings.

Officers claimed that when they finally were able to get to the house, they found several weapons, including semi-automatic rifles, ammunition, and "explosive devices." "Reliable sources close to Indians living on the reservation" were quoted as saying the killings were a planned operation, and that undoubtedly the escape routes had been organized before it occurred.



– National Observer

The first reports made front-page banner headlines in many papers.

"FBI Agents Lured to Execution – Pair Ambushed, Riddled with Bullets," the Syracuse, N.Y., *Herald-Journal* proclaimed.

"South Dakota Indians Kill Two FBI Agents" was the word in the *New York Post,* which led off with a statement by South Dakota's Attorney General William Janklow, "It looked like an execution. They were riddled with bullets." The article was authored by Terry Woster of the Associated Press.

"Two FBI Agents Slain at Wounded Knee," the *San Diego Union* announced inaccurately.

"2 FBI Agents 'Executed' [in] S.D. Reservation Ambush" was the front-page word heading the *Arizona Daily Star.*

Only the *Minneapolis Tribune* and a few others carried balanced headlines like the *Tribune's* "Indians, FBI, exchange fire in S.D.; three dead." To the others, it had hardly mattered that one Indian young man also lay dead.

Radio and television reports were equally as inciting, claiming Indians with automatic weapons had slain the agents from professionally-constructed bunkers.

All in all, it was a repetition of the late 1800's, when sensationalist journalism fanned the flames of racist feeling against Indians defending themselves from attacks by the U.S. Army and adventurers.

Later, as the truth of the incident began to emerge, reporting in the press was almost nil.

Early the morning after the shootout, Williams' car was found a half-mile away, atop a bluff overlooking a tent encampment. How it got there was a mystery. Both cars were operable, though their tires were shot out.

Now the south side of Jumping Bull's stucco house is heavily riddled with bullet-holes. The north side of the green shack, facing the Jumping Bull house, and the shack's west side both are full of bullet holes. Days after the shooting, tear gas still stung one's eyes.

The FBI's 'Final Version' Didn't Wash

The FBI's "final version" of the violence seemed intended to incite rather than to clarify, and it began to change even after it was issued. It said Coler and Williams had sought to arrest "Donny Pourier" on charges of kidnapping and assault with a deadly weapon, had arrived near the house in one car, several miles ahead of a backup car occupied by another agent. "They got out of their car and came under fire immediately. Their clothes had been ripped and there was evidence that they had been dragged along the ground." The second FBI car was said to have come under fire as it approached the scene. It was disabled, the FBI said, but the agent, who escaped unhurt, radioed for help and the "shoutout" followed as reinforcements poured in.

It was several days before newsmen were finally permitted to visit the scene. They observed several hundred bullet holes in one home, but they were unable to find any of the bunkers the FBI had talked about – there were only two dug-out cellars and an animal shelter adjacent to a corral.

Newsmen noticed that the bodies of the two agents were found almost a quarter-mile from the house, down the hill, and not visible from the house, a fact which refuted the FBI theory that the agents drove up to the front of the house and were ambushed.

The FBI story was also confused by a BIA official, who said that at least two negotiating sessions had been held before the two agents had been shot. The BIA official asked newsmen not to identify him, but he gave details of how a woman lawyer spent nearly one hour with the women and children who were in the house at the time. She returned from the house "frustrated and crying" when the BIA refused to budge from its surrender-deadline approach.

Then another siege on the houses took place, the official said.

The Truth Begins to Emerge

On June 28, Lloyd "Toby" Eaglebull, Sr., a tribal council official, announced he was trying to get Dennis Banks to negotiate with the FBI "to arrange a surrender of the 16 men." Although Banks said he was available "to meet with anyone to stop bloodshed", friends of Banks urged him not to go to the reservation, feeling it was a trick to involve him and the American Indian Movement with the FBI killings – the only links thus far had been the official gossip dangled to copy-hungry newsmen.

BIA officials refused, however, and later called off the whole thing, on or off the reservation. "We've made the decision we're only going to work through tribal officials," said Kendall Cumming, acting superintendent for the BIA at Pine Ridge. Cumming made it clear that he considered Banks an "outsider".

Cumming also revealed that it was he who decided during the six-hour shootout not to negotiate with the Indians battling the FBI, but to give them a surrender deadline instead. "I didn't want another Wounded Knee," he said, referring to the 1973 takeover.

Cumming said he had first been called to the shootout by Edgar Bear Runner, a young Oglala watching the action from the perimeter. He said Bear Runner wanted him to try to get the shooting stopped. Bear Runner then escorted Cumming to the site where the two FBI agents lay so the superintendent could verify they were dead.

– Kevin McKiernan/Minneapolis Tribune

BIA policeman stands over body of Little Joe Stuntz as BIA Superintendent comes running up in the distance.

Later, Cummings responded angrily to charges that he had hobbled the FBI in its gun battle. He said that in fact he acted to prevent "a blood bath."

South Dakota's Attorney General William Janklow said on July 2 that Cumming held up the agents from moving in on the house at which they were shooting. Janklow charged that this had allowed the "16 wanted men" to slip away into the surrounding hills.

By July 9, the FBI confirmed that the agents were, in fact, chasing a red pick-up truck immediately before they were shot. Their conversation with each other from their separate cars was recorded by the South Dakota state law enforcement communications department, which had carefully guarded the secret until it finally leaked out. Janklow – who had earlier talked of the ambush and execution – acknowledged that the recording existed, but said the FBI had asked him to keep the information on it confidential.

The taped conversation has one agent advocating pursuit of a red pick-up truck. The other told his partner to make sure the gas tank was full. Then after two minutes of silence, one of the agents told an FBI radio point that they were taking gunfire hits.

An FBI spokesman said there was "no particular reason" the truck incident had not been announced earlier. "It certainly was no secret," he said.

Lawmen outside one of the homes they had fired on.

An FBI spokesman said the slain Indian man was wearing a military fatigue jacket stenciled "FBI" which had been taken from one of the agents. However, the witnesses to the shootout said the agents had been wearing sports coats and slacks, not military garb, when they came to the house.

The FBI refused to comment on whether there were any bullet holes in the jacket or blood on it that would confirm that the Indian man was wearing it when he was shot. The FBI also would not discuss with newsmen the report of the autopsy.

A picture of the jacket published in local newspapers showed no bullet holes or blood stains on it. Yet the dead native man was said by the FBI to have been "riddled with bullets."

Even the statement that the FBI was looking for dangerous kidnappers vanished into thin air. As it turned out, the four men the FBI were seeking were charged with aggravated assault.

On June 23, Jerry Schwarting, 23, and Robert Dinsmore, 14, white farmhands who live at Porcupine on the reservation, were involved in a late-night drinking fracas during which, it is alleged, the two were relieved of their cowboy boots at the point of a pocket-knife, and after an hour or two, were released uninjured.

One of those charged was Teddy Paul Pourier, in whose home the alleged incident took place. He was arrested, actually, the day before the June 26 siege on the Jumping Bull hall, charged with assault with a deadly weapon – not kidnapping.

The four warrants were for Herman Thunder Hawk, Pourier, Robert Horse, and James Eagle. When Herman Thunder Hawk was arrested several days after the shootings, the FBI termed it as a "sign of progress in the search" even though Thunder Hawk was never in the houses involved in the shoot-out, nor was he one of the 16 persons sought by the FBI.

"We don't know if he was in the house," the FBI admitted. But at the same time, the FBI was contending they had "a fairly good idea" of the identity of the 16 persons they say were involved in the alleged shoot-out.

So far, the FBI has not even obtained warrants for any of the "16 Indian males" allegedly involved in the shooting.

A week after the shooting, there had been no arrests, although David Sky, 20, was in custody as a material witness, held on $50,000 bond, after he was alleged to have told a friend, "we had fun – you should have

(continued on next page)

been there." He will be taken before a grand jury to be held in late July.

The U.S. said they had flown a dog in from Philadelphia to sniff Sky and that the dog had indicated Sky's scent was at the site of the shoot-out. WKLDOC personnel said they would get their own dog to check it out. Sky is not known around Pine Ridge.

Later identification of the killed native man known at Pine Ridge as "Kills Right" and termed by the FBI as "Joe Roberts" was found to be known as "Joseph Bedell Stuntz, 24, of Lapwai Agency in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Stuntz was not the name he had been born with. His adoptive mother, Mrs. Ruth Stuntz of Monticello, Indiana, said he was one of three Indian children she had adopted. She said he had graduated from Onarga Military School in Illinois in 1970, and had attended the Institute of American Indian Art at Santa Fe, New Mexico. His wife and two sons live in Washington State. He had been in training for some months as a holy man, and was known as a peaceful, quiet and sacred person.

Stuntz was found lying on his back just outside the door to the green tar-paper shack. Kelley said that Stuntz had died at about 2:30 p.m. It was said he had on agent Coler's fatigue jacket.

The reaction against news reporters was strong enough that by the time of Stuntz's funeral at Oglala, they were banned and ordered away from the rites.

Stutz' body was picked up from the authorities in a green Chevrolet station-wagon and taken to a tipi set up with stems of sage spread as a rug. The body was wrapped in an Indian blanket. First the men lined up and silently moved in and out of the tipi to pay their respects. Then the women followed, crying and mourning.

Although Dick Wilson had signed an order forbidding services for Stuntz on the reservation, there were no incidents. The burial was held at Rosebud at Crow Dog's Paradise. His grave is next to that of Frank Clearwater, who was shot by U.S. forces during the occupation of Wounded Knee.

Meanwhile, in Lawrence M. Kelley, the [illegible] American flags to the families of the two dead agents.

At funerals for the agents in the Los Angeles area, FBI director Clarence M. Kelley said that the men had been shot "at point blank range" and that both of their vehicles had approximately 55 bullet holes in them. He said that both men had been hit by three bullets.

The Kelley version described the action this way: the agents "unquestionably were confused and probably penned in their cars," he said in theorizing why the agents had left their vehicles at the first sound of bullet fire instead of driving out of range.

A deputy associate director of the FBI, James Adams, added his ideas. One of the agents probably had left his car in an attempt to retrieve shoulder weapons stored in its trunk, he said. But he added that he couldn't "say definitely why the agents left their cars."

"The first agent hit by gunfire was agent Coler," said Kelley. "He suffered a wound in his right arm. We know that agent Williams tore off [Coler's] shirt and used it for a tourniquet to stem the flow of blood. We know that the first wound suffered by agent Williams was in his head, and it killed him instantly." Kelley speculated that this shot was at point-blank range, probably within a foot or so. Kelley said Williams had two other wounds, one in the side and one in the foot.

Kelley told reporters that the last remarks uttered by the agents on the radio, according to an FBI agent monitoring the vehicle's transmissions, were: "It looks like they're going to shoot at us," followed by, "We have been hit" and then, "Hurry and give us some help with fire cover or we will be killed."

Kelley added dramatically, "Agent Williams was killed in a grassy meadow shortly afterwards." Kelley speculated that Williams had died fending off his assailants with his hands, "and was hit in the hand and the bullet traveled through his head." Coler had sustained a wound at the top of his head which was "devastating" but did not kill him. "Then came a lethal wound in his head," Kelley said.

The two men were the first FBI agents killed in the line of duty in more than two years.
So far this year, 18 persons have been killed on the reservation.

An Official Unconcern for Native Well-being

In Minneapolis, Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM leader, termed the incident "another attack against the Indian people. The only difference is that today two FBI agents have been killed." He cited the widespread loss of life and the terrorist campaign that has been waged there as evidence of U.S. official lack of concern over native welfare.

"We said when we left the occupation that if they [the U.S.] didn't let the Indian people have the right to self-determination, there would be more Wounded Knees."

The shooting took place during an interesting state of events at the area FBI office in Minneapolis. Special agent-in-charge Joseph Trimbach, who had been singled out by U.S. District Court Judge Fred Nichol for widespread misconduct during the Banks/Means trials, had just been transferred to the area office at Memphis, Tennessee on June 24. An agent from Anchorage, Alaska, was slated to take over the job, but he had refused and elected instead "early retirement" at the age of 50. Some observers close to the scene speculated that some sort of campaign against AIM people at Pine Ridge had been carefully planned, although the death of the two agents was more than had been bargained for.

Coler and Williams were both California natives. Coler had been sent to Pine Ridge on a special assignment as part of the recent law-and-order campaign. Williams had been assigned to the Rapid City branch office in July, 1973.

Williams had also achieved brief notoriety during the Banks/Means case as one of the FBI agents who had been detailed to keep a star witness, Louis Moves Camp, in luxury accommodations in Wisconsin while awaiting his turn on the witness stand.

The defense had alleged that the two agents took Moves Camp bar-hopping in Wisconsin, then left him with a woman. The woman was raped by Moves Camp, the defense alleged, and when the woman went to local police, the FBI interceded to prevent charges from being filed.

In his final decision, Judge Nichol, called the behavior of the two FBI agents "incredible." "I didn't realize the FBI was stooping so low," he told his courtroom. "I never thought I was going to find out things like that. Is that what we expect of the FBI and representatives of the Department of Justice and the United States Government? . . . It's hard for me to believe that the FBI, which I have revered for many years, has fallen to that low estate."

— AP photo
And still more of the 250 lawmen at Pine Ridge

While understandably the shooting of the two agents would be upsetting to the FBI, the over-reaction is obvious. More than 200 G-men, assisted by Nebraska and South Dakota state troopers and sheriff's deputies and a special force of BIA police, conducted a shoot-first-and-ask-questions-later search with helicopters, armored personnel carriers, airplanes, and automatic rifles.

Most of the FBI men wore olive-green military fatigues, although some had camouflaged clothes and one unit wore special black fatigues and baseball caps lettered "FBI". They carried M-16 rifles, shotguns, and weapons with telescopic sights. They traveled throughout the reservation in the tribally-owned yellow minibuses bearing the signs, "Head Start".

— AP Wirephoto
More FBI Agents in Battle Gear at Oglala

"They have killed two of our people. We are not going to take any of them alive," an FBI special agent from Omaha told a reporter.

The 82nd Airborne unit quartered at Ellsworth Air Force Base was alterted to be on standby.

The several hundred agents included a squad of sharpshooters; in addition, a tactical squad was flown in from Minneapolis, and a 50-man SWAT team was flown in from California.

After sweeping through every nook and cranny of the reservation for a week, the FBI had to report a "fruitless sweep" that had failed to turn up "any trace of the suspects". And yet, the FBI kept its unprecedented force at Pine Ridge "gathering information."

"They know the people they want aren't here," said Viola Nichols who lives in the cluster of four homes. Her daughter, Kamook, is married to Banks.

However, Dick Wilson blasted the FBI's report of a "fruitless search" and threatened to take over. "We know who they are and the FBI know. If the FBI doesn't get them, we will," he boasted.

On July 4, about 7:30 p.m., one of the FBI helicopters crashed. There were no serious injuries to the two FBI agents and the two crewmen aboard. The crash was apparently due to a mechanical problem, but newsmen were not allowed at the scene.

While the FBI would not say that the helicopter was shot at, it collaborated with sensation-seeking reporters to create that impression. A reporter asked if the FBI would deny the helicopter had been hit by ground fire. "Of course I can't deny it," an FBI spokesman said. Official federal rumor said the aircraft had been hit three times. The National Transportation Safety Board is investigating the incident, but officials said their report would not be ready for at least two months.

Still anxious to preserve the credibility of the "ambush" theme, "reliable federal sources" hinted to reporters that the two FBI agents had been drawn into an ambush by an anonymous telephone call. The sources said the caller told the agents one of four men wanted was at Jumping Bulls — and that they then were ambushed by "heavily armed persons".

Even the search prompted Wild West journalism.

"Scores of lawmen pursued a band of heavily armed Indians thru the Sioux reservation Friday after two FBI agents were ambushed and slain with automatic weapons," the *Chicago Tribune* reported.

Over the weekend following the shootings, about 60 Oglalas gathered under a sun-screen of evergreen boughs at the Bad Heart Bull place in Oglala to draw up a petition requesting the removal of the FBI agents. Afterwards, they drove over to the Jumping Bull site, where they walked around the cluster of houses, shaking their heads when they saw the bullet holes.

The petition charged that FBI agents have "invaded their privacy by frequent questioning and by searching private property without warrants; privately spread statements like 'One more dead Indian and we'll be even'; have frightened Indian children by creating combat-like conditions through the display of guns and the wearing of combat fatigues; never protected, only harassed the Sioux Nation, and persisted in treating all Indians as criminals under a general attitude of harassment."

Of course, the violent deaths did not stop even with the hundreds of FBI men around. Some say that they just gave the goon squad more confidence. At any rate, in the small reservation community of Allen a few days after the Jumping Bull Hall tragedy, Vincent DuBray was shot and killed. His brother, Sam, was also shot in the arm — two months ago he had been shot in the stomach by similar assailants.

Rosebud Tribal officials reacted strongly when the FBI army began to spread over to that reservation. Under the guise of investigating a stabbing and a traffic death, five regular helicopters and two highly-visible white helicopters loaded with agents made landings near Mission. Tribal council chairman Robert Burnette phoned Justice Department officials and the tribal council passed a resolution banning the FBI from such maneuvers.

Burnette said he wouldn't have minded it if a carload or two of agents had come in to check things out, but the assault landing was too much. "We're not going to be intimidated by paramilitary force," he stated firmly.

Miller is an engineering student at the University of North Dakota. He had returned to Pine Ridge out of concern for the Jumping Bulls, his wife's grandparents. Jumping Bull is, he noted, an old and respected member of the district, "and the FBI did him dishonor and detriment to his personal lifestyle and cultural needs. They riddled his home with bullets, teargas, smoke bombs, and scared his family. I know the FBI does not want them to re-enter their home."

Another family member, who refused to be identified out of fear of police reprisal, told of how her grandparents were shocked and saddened to see the picture in their home of Henry Blacksmith shattered by a bullet.

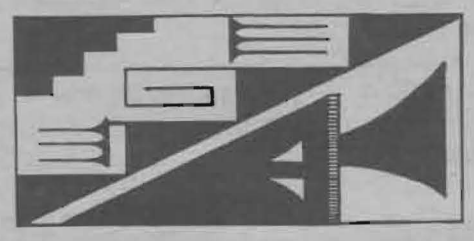
"Henry was a friend of their son, Chris," Miller explained. "Both were killed during World War II. Both fought for the welfare and integrity of the U.S. Government. Their pictures reminded Mrs. Jumping Bull — she is a Gold Star Mother — of her giving to the government which was not respected. Now she wants to give one of the flags presented to her back to President Ford, the other to Senator McGovern, and the purple hearts back to where they came from."

how we are bothering you." Bear Shield was calling from a public phone.

There was a lot of talk about pay-offs. "We're not talking about hundreds of dollars — we're talking about real money," Doler One Eye said he was told by FBI agents.

As is usual when there is trouble at Pine Ridge, the U.S. closes off the world. All telephone lines were interrupted for "rumor control", and roadblocks at reservation boundaries maintained a check on traffic. The FBI announced that a "communications blackout" had been imposed. No network or news ageny was known to have taken any action to have their constitutional rights restored.

Sylvester Black Crow told of just what this means. At his home and Sun Dance grounds that he maintains, two helicopters full of agents conducted an assault landing, surrounding and searching the area at gun-point, without a warrant, looking for "three fugitives." They found no one. The FBI was contacted by the *Rapid City Journal* and it confirmed Black Crow's account.



The July 2 search was conducted by FBI agent Dave Price, the same man who raided Black Crow's place in May of 1974. That time, Black Crow had rounded up thirteen cows illegally pastured on his land by two men from nearby Kadoka. Instead of dealing with the

After the shootout, FBI agents vandalized homes of native residents. One agent is said to have taken aim at this photograph in the home of Harry and Cecelia Jumping Bull. The photos are of a family member and a close friend, both of whom were killed in service of the United States of America.

— Militant/Jose Perez photo

Two FBI agents, part of the paramilitary force occupying Pine Ridge Reservation, conducting search mission.

The FBI denied it had been highhanded in its search. "There may be people out there armed, but we're not getting heavy-handed," Tom Coll told a press briefing. Coll said the search was concentrated on the reservation even though common-sense Oglalas were telling the FBI the persons who had been in the house were "long gone."

FBI spokesman Coll denied the petition charges, insisting at a press briefing that the display of guns and paramilitary equipment "is an absolute necessity." "The FBI has no intention of leaving the area until we finish our job," Coll added.

"I feel there should be an inquiry into why and for what the FBI is able to harass so many people so often and so casually," said Keith Miller, an Oglala. "There is no sense in people being afraid in their own homes, on their roads, on their reservation. . . I feel it is time for Dick Wilson to get out from behind his dark glasses and open his eyes and listen to the White Clay district [of Pine Ridge Reservation]."

A month after the shooting, there were still an official 150 FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation, and "feels like 400," residents reported.

The harassment has been at times tragic, other times almost humorous.

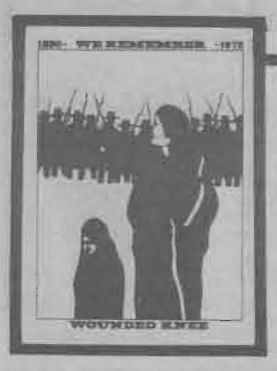
One elderly couple who had recently celebrated their 66th wedding anniversary were alone in their home when the FBI assault-landing team arrived. The old folks spoke Lakota, and all they could tell the agents in English was "Go away!" After the search was over, the husband had a heart attack — and died. His widow was so terrified she did not even want her name to be mentioned.

Jerry Bear Shield had been particularly harassed with helicopters landing in his front yard as if it were the local heliport. He had been hauled off to Pine Ridge for interrogation. Once, when he called WKLDOC lawyers to say how he was "tired of all this questioning by the FBI," a male voice came on the line to say, "This is the FBI. Please complete the statement about

ranchers, the U.S. charged Black Crow and Charles Abourezk for cattle rustling. Those charges were finally dropped when Black Crow released the cows under the coercion of the federal agents.

The agents said they were looking for Frank Black Horse, also known as Bruce Johnson, a Wounded Knee defendant who missed a court date in Council Bluffs on May 19; Leonard Pelletier, who they said was wanted in Wisconsin on a charge of attempted murder, and Jimmy Eagle, the same man they were seeking on June 26.

Even up in Rapid City, 150 miles away, there were FBI raids. Thelma Conroy was napping on a couch in the living room of her home on Milwaukee Street Sunday afternoon when she heard shouting and banging at the door. When she got to the door, she saw three white men with guns pointed at her 10-year-old son. She opened the door and 26 FBI agents came in. They emptied drawers, tore open bags of food, saying they were looking for explosives, and that they had a warrant for the arrest of Dave Hill, a Utah AIM leader



who is one of the Custer defendants, for allegedly being involved in the Mt. Rushmore bombing. Eventually, the agents found two pistols in the Conroy home, as well as a B-B gun, a sleeping bag, personal letters, and other things which Thelma Conroy said she hadn't seen before.

The FBI charged that Hill had made a bomb, and then forced Anthony E. Ament, a Black Hills State College student, to take the device and Hill up to the national monument in his pickup truck. Ament was held as a material witness, and then released on $5,000 unsecured bond in the custody of his parents.

Gladys Bissonette's home is also searched regularly. Jimmy Eagle is her grandson, and she is convinced the U.S. is determied to see Jimmy dead, just as three other relatives – Pedro Bissonette, Jeanette Bissonette, and her grandson, Richard Eagle, have died of bullets in the last two years.

"I'm not afraid to walk up to any courthouse with my grandson [Jimmy Eagle]," Gladys Bissonette says. "if there was any justice in this country. But they want to kill both of us and more."

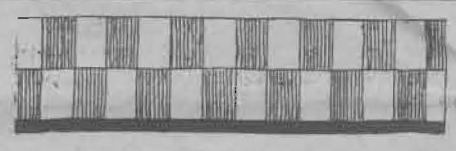
Two agents returned June 29 and again demanded to search the house. Again they refused to identify themselves and made abusive remarks. "They accused me of participating in the shootout. They even said: 'You killed two of our men.' Then they said I was harboring some of the people they were looking for. These guys are nothing but a bunch of bloodthirsty killers looking for an excuse to shoot somebody."

While she was talking on the telephone to *Guardian* reporters, still another contingent of FBI agents arrived to search.

The Washington Post quoted several agents as saying that they felt "highly motivated" with regards to the search operation. "Some have worked 48 hours without sleep. We really want to get these guys," one agent said.

Gladys Bissonette, a staunch elderly supporter of AIM, described how the search went at her house. "They walked up to my house from an armored personnel carrier – about eight of them – with automatic weapons and drawn guns," she told *The Guardian*. Her house was first searched June 28. "At first they refused to identify themselves or show their credentials. Then they searched the house and the grounds."

Thanks to Jose Perez of the Militant, David W. Hacker & Diane K. Shah of the National Observer; to Lyn Gladstone of the Rapid City Journal; William Simbro, Cedar Rapids Bureau Chief for the Des Moines Register and Tribune and the Minneapolis Tribune; to Guild Notes, a publication of the National Lawyers Guild; the Standing Rock Star, Borrowed Times, Associated Press, United Press International, Joel Weisman of the Washington Post, Ben Bedell of the Guardian, Randy Furst of the Minneapolis Star, John Kifner and Grace Lichtenstein of the New York Times, Candace Hamilton, and Cheryl McCall and the Berkeley Barb for information, and especially to Natasha and Ralph Friar and WBAI we are grateful.



CORRECTION: In the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, one small piece of information provided to us was erroneous, causing unfortunate reflections and saddened feelings. In reporting the death of Richard Eagle, 11-year-old grandson of Gladys Bissonette, now officially listed as an "accidental homicide", the account should not have indicated that the gun belonged to Gladys Bissonette. Especially since we attempt to be as accurate as possible, and since we especially value the friendship of our elders at Pine Ridge, we regret the inaccuracy of our source in this instance. The Editors.

YANKTON SEVEN HELD IN SOLITARY EVEN BEFORE TRIAL; FIVE ESCAPE

"If the offense be not bailable, or the party cannot find bail, his imprisonment is only for safe custody, not for punishment. Therefore, in this dubious interval between the commitment and trial, a prisoner ought to be used with the utmost humanity, and neither be loaded with needless fetters, or subjected to other hardships than such as are absolutely requisite for the purpose of confinement only."

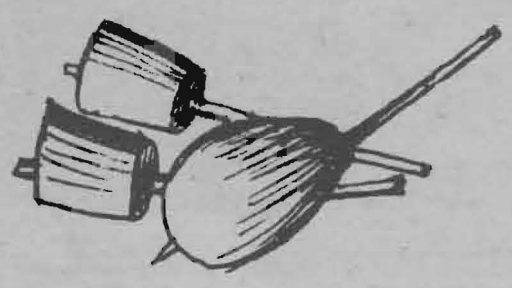
– Blackstone's Commentaries, 1765

At the South Dakota State Penitentiary, seven young native men have been kept in solitary confinement since June 6 although they have been convicted of no crime.

The youths, between 18 and 22, were arrested in connection with a protest occupation of a pork-processing plant operated by non-Indians in Wagner, South Dakota, on Yankton Sioux land.

The Yankton Seven – Mark Winkler, Mike Weston, Jesse Costello, Mike Honomichl, Jim Weddell, Don Cournoyer, and Godwan Weston – are scheduled to be arraigned in late July. Until then, they are confined to their own six-by-eight-foot cell which has only a small window for ventilation. They are allowed out to exercise onle 30 minutes a day. They have not been outdoors.

The confinement raises serious constitutional questions in that punishment is being meted out without a trial – without due process of law as guaranteed by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. Bond, originally set at $15,000 each, remains high although reduced to $8,000 per defendant. Even that amount seems unjust because none of the defendants has any serious criminal record, and because their alleged crimes were of social protests, rather than criminal actions.



At the time of the protest, there had been complaints against plant-owner Melvin Rosenthal for failing to hire native people, although the plant was built for that purpose. Only 5 of 63 workers were native people. Although the Yankton Sioux tribe had assumed it had control over the plant they authorized on their land, through obscure contract provisions, Rosenthal controls 80% of the stock with voting rights.

Protests concerning the confinement should be directed to:

Judge Paul J. Kern
Charles Mix County Courthouse
Lake Andes, South Dakota 57356
telephone (605) 487-7664

Contributions for the defense of the Yankton defendants should be sent to:

Yankton Legal Defense/Offense Committee
c/o Lois Tiger
POBox 145
Marty, South Dakota 57361

A Message To The "Establishment Media"

"During the 1960's Civil Rights struggles, the media played an important part in educating the general public and in actually sav ing lives by focusing on the events surrounding that struggle," the Oglala Communications Center, a grassroots information outlet notes. "Why should it be any different for the Indian people struggling to preserve their land, culture, spirituality and history against the forces of the white government?" it asks.

"South Dakota seems a remote place to most Americans. . . but Vietnam was far away, and remote and unnoticed too until the media played its important part in bringing the war home. It was important for Americans to know what was happening in Southeast Asia – it is at least equally important for them to know what is happening in their own country," a OGC press letter states.

Several national networks and a national wire service have said they would not send their people to cover the current situation at Pine Ridge because of threats of violence from tribal council chairman Dick Wilson. "Weren't newspapeople willing to risk jail and death to cover the Vietnam war?" the letter wondered.

LAST MINUTE NEWS

The jury returned a guilty verdict on felony charges against Dennis Banks on July 26 in Custer, South Dakota. Sentencing was scheduled for August 5, and defense attorneys announced they would appeal the verdict. Some defense witnesses refused to testify at the last minute because of fears of official retaliation against them.

* * * * * * *

Jimmy Eagle was charged on July 26 with murder in the deaths of the two FBI agents shot a month earlier at Oglala.

* * * * * * *

The Yankton Seven appeared in court July 25, where their motions for release from solitary confinement while awaiting trial were denied. They were taken to nearby Lake Andes jail overnight, and at 5 a.m., five of the seven broke out of the jail and are still free men. They had complained of indifferent legal representation by court-appointed attorneys.

Funds to deal with the legal issues arising here are tremendous. Send donations to:

Oglala Defense Fund
POBox 2307
Rapid City, South Dakota 57701

NATIVE WOMAN SUES OVER ILLEGAL STERILIZATION, SEIZURE OF CHILDREN

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania – Almost 50 native, community, and civil rights groups have launched a campaign on behalf of Norma Jean Serena, a 37-year-old native woman who was sterilized, it seems, against her will. She is seeking damages from hospital and welfare officials in Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, for ordering the sterilization, and for illegally removing three of her five children from her.

The medical reason for the sterilization of Serena, a welfare recipient, was officially stated as "socio-economic" and the prime reason for the removal of her children, according to the support coalition, was her association with black people.

Serena is a Creek-Shawnee from Oklahoma originally. After neighbors complained that black people were in the area, social workers removed the two youngest children, Gary and Lisa, from Serena's custody by forcing the three of them to accompany them to the Children's Hospital in Pittsburg, claiming it was "the law you must go along," Serena says.

A doctor examined the children, and found them in good health. The caseworkers, however, told Serena that the children were seriously ill. The children were "voluntarily" placed in foster homes. Although Serena was told the placement was temporary, the foster parents were told the placement was permanent and that adoption would be permitted.

A third child, Shawn, was sent to a foster home immediately after birth in August, 1970. The Child Welfare and Board of Assistance authorities persuaded Serena to give up her child because she was "ill" and exhausted from experiences in the hospital.

After repeated but unsuccessful attempts to visit her children and have them returned to her, Serena resorted to legal action. Finally, with the aid of the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center in Pittsburgh, Serena received a favorable court ruling in 1973 ordering that the children be returned.

But the return was delayed by Armstrong County Child Welfare authorities for almost a year, until the threat of contempt of court proceedings against them caused them to act. Finally, after the three-year detention, the children were returned to her.

The second part of Serena's suit seeks damages for an involuntary sterilization performed on her after Shawn was born in 1970. She was on medication and exhausted from delivery at the time the operation was performed, and didn't learn of it until the next day when she was convinced to sign a consent form. She was told that any subsequent pregnancies might result in the birth of retarded or deformed children.

The Serena case is viewed as a typical one, since almost a third of all native children are separated from their families and placed in foster homes, adoptive homes, or institutions acording to studies done by the Association on American Indian Affairs. And sterilization of non-white women is increasingly prevelant. One native woman out of seven is now sterile, and in Puerto Rico, one of three child-bearing-age women has been permanently sterilized.

"I'm sure the facts of this case are not really that uncommon," Richard Levine, Serena's attorney, says. "These people wield enormous power in the name of benevolence. If this case does nothing else, it will put a bridle on that power."

Letters of support to Norma Jean Serena can be sent to:

Norma Jean Serena
c/o Richard Levine, Attorney
467 Puhles St.
Pittsburg, Pa. 15221

Armstrong County is named after Colonel John Armstrong, whose troops destroyed the chief settlement of the Lenni-Lenape in 1756 after that people had already been pushed westward by the European invasion of their lands. *[Liberation News Ser.]*

In Pine Ridge, a woman who takes a distinctly dim view of AIM activities said, "There's somebody killed here practically every week and they only send all these FBI when it's one of their own. Soon they'll go away and there'll be more killing, but it will just be Indians."

At many Indian houses, whites asking directions were greeted with blank stares.

One woman who said she had been critical of AIM said that dozens of people have been murdered on the reservation in the last two years, but "we never get any agents in here to investigate those cases. At least we never get 200."

Wilson increased the already critical tension by announcing in mid-July that supporters of the American Indian Movement and particularly the WKLDOC lawyers were indirectly responsible for the deaths of the two FBI agents.

Four days after the statement, the auto of John Flynn of Boston, who is aiding Dennis Banks in his defense in Custer, was hit by a shotgun blast. Legal notes were stolen from the car.

When people refused to answer questions to the FBI, which is any person's right, the FBI simply issued subpoenas that William Kunstler termed a "grand jury fishing expedition."

"They are just writing out the subpoenas on the spot," said Ken Tilsen, an attorney whose commitment to WKLDOC has remained strong for several years now.

On July 14, when one grand jury was calling in witnesses in Rapid City, several hundred native people and supporters picketed outside the courthouse. A number of potential witnesses said they would not respect the subpoenas. A judge postponed the scheduled hearing, and quashed many of the subpoenas.

Tilsen said attorneys "plan to file a suit asking that the FBI, the Wilson-controlled Bureau of Indian Affairs local police, and other police agencies be enjoined from all further harassment of reservation residents."

"I was running my store when the FBIs come up," Frank Star says. Agents wanted him to explain an old car he had at his father-in-laws house, scene of the shoot-out. "First thing I said to the FBIs was, 'I have a lawyer and I wish to consult with him first.' Immediately on the spot they brought out a blank subpoena form, filled it out, dated it – no notary. They issued me a copy and they took off. That's how I got subpoened."

Legally, a subpoena has to be issued by a court after an affidavit has been sworn to detailing why a subpoena is necessary.

Star is a member of the White Clay District Council which had denounced the intimidating tactics of the FBI. A few days later, Star's brother, Stan, suffered a severe beating by goons. He suffered a broken arm and stab wounds in the head. His upper lip was nearly severed; five or six teeth were lost and both eyes were still swollen shut a week later. His jaws are wired shut. He was dumped at the Pine Ridge hospital, where the goons checked later to see if he had yet died.

When Mike Clifford, subpoenaed from Flint, Michigan, arrived at the Rapid City airport, FBI agents rushed him away before his ride could locate him. He kept telling the agents he was not required by law to talk to them, but he was taken to the third floor of the courthouse and questioned for almost three hours, replying constantly, "I want to see my lawyer." Finally, in desperation, he bolted from the room and raced the agents to the witness room where his friends – and lawyers – were waiting.

WKLDOC lawyers presented 17 motions to the judge convening the grand jury. Twelve motions were denied, additional briefs were requested in four instances, and only one was allowed – that persons speaking only Lakota should have an interpreter in the proceedings. Attorneys representing 35 persons who had received subpoenas were given just one hour to argue their 17 motions.

The judge, Andrew Bogue, also refused to allow motions to be filed for all witnesses as a group, but demanded certain ones be refiled with each witness' name to whom it directly applied, a system which required a filing fee for each motion for each witness – 17 motions, 35 witnesses.

Besides the Oglala delegation, other witnesses included the BIA superintendent, Fred Two Bulls, a Wilson supporter; a white rancher who lives on the reservation and heads up the local John Birch Society, and others.

The most common question asked the Oglala witnesses was "What do you know about the deaths of agents Williams and Coler?" No questions were asked about the death of Little Joe Stuntz.

Beau Little and David Sky each refused to testify, telling the grand jurors they stood on their treaty rights, that they were of a sovereign people and could not answer to a foreign state, that their elders and chiefs had advised them to stand on their treaty rights. Other witnesses took the Fifth Amendment, fearing that virtually anything they might say could be used to harass them further.

The prosecutor for the grand jury was R.D. Hurd, who also prosecuted Dennis Banks and Russell Means in St. Paul. Mostly, the grand jury proceedings were regarded as harassment. Scores of people were called, and had to attend each day of the hearings, even if they had testified already. Many were not even called into the jury room before the jury recessed. And because of tight security at the courthouse, right at the front door, they had to wait outside to while their time away until their name was called.

Grand juries are supposed to meet in secret, to consider evidence to determine if an indictment is justified, and if so, to issue it, where the case is then heard in a court with rules of evidence and other protections. This concept has been abused in the Oglala situation, where the prosecutor for the grand jury, R.D. Hurd, is likely to be the prosecutor of the cases, and because of his Wounded Knee trial experience in St. Paul, is also likely to have a less-than-unbiased attitude toward native activists.

After the occupation of Wounded Knee, a series of all-white grand juries handed down more than 180 indictments against people who were in, or tried to go in, Wounded Knee. The grand juries seemed to be more rabid than were the courts, where only nine convictions were obtained from the lot, althoughthere are a few cases still pending.

The most recent FBI attack at Pine Ridge did not come out of the blue. In South Dakota last year there were 26 unsolved murders – 23 of them took place on the reservation. The majority of the victims were either AIM members or persons favoring the removal of Dick Wilson. No one has been prosecuted or even charged for most of the murders.

In March, 1975, in conjunction with a "law and order" campaign, a reign of terror broke out on the reservation with intensive attacks against traditionally-minded people.

To understand the incident, one must know that there has been a campaign of suppression, oppression, and violence against the American Indian Movement on the Pine Ridge Reservation even before the occupation of Wounded Knee, and, some say, even worse since the occupation was over.

Deaths by violence have occurred weekly. A special law-and-order campaign begun by the U.S. Government in late March seemed to center in on pro-AIM persons. Secret Grand Jury investigations had handed down 20 or more indictments as three separate juries met in Pierre, Rapid City, and Aberdeen, South Dakota.

large, sophisticated enough as political oppressors to know that outright and frequent murder is not the best way to keep an oppressed people in line. I think the FBI and the BIA consider the excesses of the Wilson regime to be more than they can deal with. Wilson is like Thieu in Vietnam – the U.S. many times talked about dumping Thieu, as he was carrying things too far and embarrassing the U.S. Government. Dick Wilson is doing the same. He's totally, openly, and unabashedly corrupt. His people are stealing a large part of the government money that comes into the reservation. Most of the rest they're wasting. They're responsible for a good number of this rash of killings. They're responsible for beatings on a weekly basis, sometimes on a daily basis. There's an atmosphere of terror there. Of course, AIM people fight back – they don't lie around and just take it.

AIM has given Oglalas at Pine Ridge something to focus around. Since the U.S.-side of things has always provided a certain focus, this new focus has meant things have become polarized. Because of AIM's presence, people have had to face up to some of the issues and choose sides. Mostly, people are trying to choose between being neutral, and being AIM supporters. There are very few out and out Wilson supporters, BIA-supporters, or U.S. Government-supporters on the reservation. But those that are there have power.

The FBI has not been with clean hands at Pine Ridge. Judge Fred Nichol dropped all Wounded Knee charges because, among other things, in the effort to put Dennis Banks and Russell Means behind bars, the FBI had defied the U.S. Constitution by wiretaps, bribes, blackmail, informants, infiltrators, lying under oath, altering evidence, and the U.S. had posed army personnel in civilian garb. Judge Nichols had warned of the dangers of a police state arising in the U.S. as it did at Pine Ridge.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report detailing the irregularities in the election which gave Wilson his narrow victory was released only after a year's delay, and after the person who wrote it was almost fired. It showed that the election was permeated with fraud by the Wilson forces. A suit to quash the elections was dismissed by U.S. District Court Judge Andrew Bogue, but WKLDOC attorneys expect his decision to be reversed in the appeals court now considering it. That could mean new elections would finally be ordered about the time the next election is scheduled next winter.

DICK WILSON: "WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE? WHO IS PAYING THEM?"

[This is Dick Wilson's perspective on the situation at Pine Ridge, as excerpted from a letter to the editor of the New York Times written July 7.]

...Our reservation was invaded in 1973, at the time of the Wounded Knee occupation, by a bunch of outsiders, both Indian and non-Indian, and it is again being invaded by a bunch of outsiders.

These outsiders come here and spend time here without having to earn a living. They drive fancy cars and seem to have money to spend on airplane trips, so they fly around the country. And they carry powerful weapons, which makes them able to outshoot the FBI.

Where are they getting their money and their weapons? We wonder about the newspapers and television people who are supposed to dig out the news. Why aren't you trying to find out what is really going on? Who are these people? Who is paying them?

...What would you say if a bunch of warriors from the Pine Ridge Reservation would come to [illegible] York or Washington and would start scalping people on Broadway or Constitution Avenue? Wouldn't you be interested in finding out who these invaders are and why they invade your cities?

But what happens with us? These people from outside go out into the country and terrorize some poor old folks. And when they cause trouble that makes news, some church organizations rush in to "mediate". What is there to mediate?

What we want is a chance to live in peace, and for our people to improve their lot...

Wilson blames the reservation's troubles on "outsiders" and by the end of June, he pushed through ratification of a tribal exclusion ordinance designed to limit "outside Indians" from settling on the reservation. Wilson calls AIM "the direct cause for killing the FBI agents," saying AIM had brought tension levels and violence so high. He does not acknowledge that most of the violence has been caused by the goon squad.

However, reservation residents say that many of the recent muggings, beatings, shootings, axings, stabbings, and other violence victims were known to at least hold sympathies with AIM, and that "AIM sympathizers" have been targets of snipers, or have been involved in auto crashes when other cars forced them off the road.

Reber Bouldt, an Atlanta attorney who has been working with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee, was asked by a reporter from *The Great Speckled Bird*, an alternate newspaper, whether he felt the FBI was complicit in the violence at Pine Ridge. He replied, "I think that the FBI is, by and

Many observers feel the current climate of fear at Pine Ridge is a conscious strategy on the part of the U.S. to weaken the strongest base of the American Indian Movement. Another seeming strategy has been to keep AIM members tied up in the courts, requiring millions of dollars, full-time work of hundreds of people for the last two years plus the energies of many others, diverting AIM energy and resources from movement activities to simply keeping members out of jail.

Bouldt noted that "when people get together and do something, they get accused of causing hatred and polarization. Actually, you'll never get anywhere unless you sharpen up the issue and get people to thinking about it and taking a position on it. That's the positive benefit of the Wounded Knee occupation, which of course the media and other people have tried to turn into something negative."

The FBI man who should know AIM best, Douglas Durham, who as an informer was for a year AIM's top security chief, calls Dennis Banks "a

responsible, peaceful leader" and said that AIM itself was "a morally right and necessary social protest movement."

While Wilson himself has at times referred to the goon squad as "the goon squad," he now prefers another term. "Actually, I prefer to call them a group of concerned citizens who don't want those clowns [AIM members] on the reservation."

However, the "concerned citizens" were acknowledged by Wilson in an interview with a *Washington Post* reporter to be "a goon squad" of his followers "who do whatever is necessary to keep the peace and discourage outsiders like AIM leaders from coming here."

Despite all the evidence available that the conflict on the reservation is something greater than mere factionalism, the press still referred to the "bitter political rivalry" as the cause of the violence.

Federal concern over the violence increased sharply this spring, particularly after an incident in February involving a group of white lawyers defending Wounded Knee occupiers who were surrounded by a group of men, mostly tribal council employees acting on Wilson's orders, who beat them up.

A U.S. grand jury was convened to investigate the reservation situation, and the jury issued a misdemeanor indictment against Wilson and six others in connection with the airport incident. As a legal maneuver, the six were brought before a tribal court where they pleaded guilty and were fined $10 each.

The jury's indictments against American Indian Movement members was something else — they were charged with felonies. Aside from a preliminary report saying there had been a breakdown in law and order on the reservation because of rivalry between U.S. agencies, the jury made no other mention of the tribal government.

The report did note that when Wilson was denied permission to sell a truckload of Coors beer he brought to a rodeo — alcohol is banned from the reservation although bootleggers thrive — he and a band of supporters broke 20 prisoners out of the BIA-controlled jail. The jury did not bring charges against Wilson.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has issued a report saying that Wilson's narrow re-election victory over Russell Means of AIM was marked by improprieties. But the Commission itself has no enforcement power, and the Interior Department refused to follow the Commission's recommendations, so nothing was done.

One of the pretexts used by the U.S. to allow Wilson to go unchecked is the issue of "tribal sovereignty". Interior Department officials have said it was legally impossible for them to intervene or to respond to the many complaints about the Wilson administration.

But when a slate of officials is elected that is unfavorable to the BIA, that's a different story. The Devils Lake Sioux had to have three elections a year ago before a slate of officers was selected which met the approval of the BIA area director. In Arizona, area director John Artichoker had refused to call in FBI investigators or BIA auditors which might prove that the tribal council at San Carlos Apache had violated the law, despite the fact that a million-dollar bank account was non-existant; but when the Fort McDowell Mohave/Apache tribal council refused to approve a dam which would flood out 12,000 acres of the reservation, Artichoker did not hesitate to suspend the council by refusing to certify the results of a tribal election.

Another Commission From Washington

As the result of the beating of the white lawyers by tribal council supporters in February, and with prodding by senators and congressmen, the Interior Department had in March appointed a special commission to bring the reservation situation under control. It also had dispatched an increased FBI presence to Pine Ridge — and it was this increase that brought Coler and Williams to the Reservation and to their deaths.

At the same time officials were transferred out of Pine Ridge and new forces were brought in, a special Interior Department task force began to write up a report on the situation. Their report, a mixed bag, was released on July 10th.

It charged that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is almost helpless "in dealing with difficult situations" because of internal dissension, insecurity, and ineffective leadership.

It paints a dismal picture of a judicial/law-enforcement system, crippled by inadequate support from the federal courts and the Justice Department. It speaks of untrained policemen, and tells of how the U.S. Attorney has discontinued use of telephone communications because he fears the Pine Ridge lines are illegally tapped.

While all this is something the traditional people have been complaining about since months before the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, the special commission comes to a different set of recommendations. It wants a top-to-bottom functional restructuring of the bureaucratic machinery supported by a stronger law enforcement system, something quite different than self-determination, treaty rights, or sovereignty.

The commission warns that the "manifestation of despair and frustration" among the Oglalas as reflected in the "deplorable breakdown in law and order" represented only the tip of the iceberg.

Commission members said they believed the tragedies could spread to other reservations unless corrective action was taken to upgrade Indian life and conditions everywhere, along with other reforms.

"Sadly enough," the report states, "it will become obvious that most of the underlying causes [of the Pine Ridge situation] are all too typical of too many Indian reservations."

The commission chastised tribal leaders for their tendency to view their roles through the prism of "individual perceptions" rather than through leadership and information. It deplored the breakdown of communications between tribal officials and BIA, and within the reservation.

That analysis is nowhere as deep as the criticisms that have been made. Thus the commission's recommendation that a new 61-person law-enforcement operation costing almost $1-million annually be set up for the 11,000-person community may lead to further repression and violence, just as the addition of FBI agents in recent months has created an atmosphere of official violence.

The five commission members made three field trips to the reservation — March 17 to 29, April 14 to 25, and May 5 to 9. They say they talked with about 1,000 members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe and approximately 200 other individuals and officials. They said they "found and observed several external forces of individuals in the private and public sector that were keeping the Oglala Sioux people in a constant source of confusion and chaos" over the issue of reverting to the 1868 Treaty form of tribal government.

"It is the judgment of this commission," the report states, "that the state of confusion over this issue is a contributing factor in the problems the existing tribal council is facing in conducting tribal business." That judgment, translated into action, is certain to mean greater repression and restrictions on fundamental human rights of people seeking to restore their legal status under the treaty, to fight off colonial control, and to restore their own form of government. It is as though the victims are to blame.

The problem of law and order "is of wide concern. Citizen respect for the reservation law enforcement activities is at an all-time low. Police morale is bad. Facilities and equipment are inadequate. Necessary support from the federal courts and Justice Department has been inadequate," the commission identified as one major problem.

"The present patchwork police force could be characterized as an armed, only slightly controllable faction of the community, rather than a coherent, stabilizing force," the report reads.

At about the same time that the report was released, Senator James Abourezk was meeting with Attorney General Edward Levi, Secretary of Interior Stanley Hathaway, and BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson. Abourezk said he was pleased with the meeting, but that Hathaway and Thompson were "pretty negative about it."

Abourezk recommended that U.S. marshals take over the training program for BIA police, that local BIA police be removed from the reservation until order is restored "to avoid some of the built-in conflicts" and that BIA responsibility for law enforcement be transferred to the Justice Department.

As part of those moves, Abourezk said, the so-called "goon squad" of Dick Wilson "must be dismantled — I assume law enforcement agencies have some way to do that."

The goon squad, he said, "is a major source of the problem out there."

In Washington, D.C., South Dakota Democratic Senator James Abourezk tried to see President Ford, After the June 26 shootout, Senator Abourezk tried to see U.S. President Ford, but the White House said it couldn't find room for an appointment. Abourezk then had a letter hand-delivered to the White House urging Ford to take "direct action" to end the reign of terror and violence. Abourezk confirmed that there had been at least 17 murders on the reservation since January 1. Specifically, Abourezk asked that policing be given over to a "professional" and taken away from the hands of Richard Wilson, chairman of the tribal council.

There were six murders from January 1 to April 22. Then there were eight murders in the few weeks following. Besides the murders, there have been 67 assaults with hammers and axes, and numerous attacks on property, including the riddling of Indian homes by gunfire.

"The people must be able to stop living in fear," Abourezk said in calling for an end to the officially-sanctioned terror. He was extremely critical of the BIA, the Interior Department, and the Justice Department for their failures to bring peace to the reservation.

"I can only conclude [the BIA] has an interest in keeping things stirred up out there," Abourezk told Ford.

Demonstrations & Bombings in Support

Protests against the FBI activity were held in various cities. In Minneapolis, a hundred or more picketers — non-Indians — made it clear they believed the FBI was responsible for what happened at Pine Ridge. "News Blackout Means Coverup" one sign read. Many of the picketers were older persons.

Support Groups Demonstrate; Bombs Explode

The day following the deaths at Oglala, a bomb exploded at the visitors center of the Mt. Rushmore National Memorial, causing some damage, but no injuries in the 4 a.m. blast.

A Black Hills State College student, Anthony E. Ament, 25, was held as a material witness in the bombing until he was released on a $5,000 unsecured bond with a third-party custody agreement to his parents.

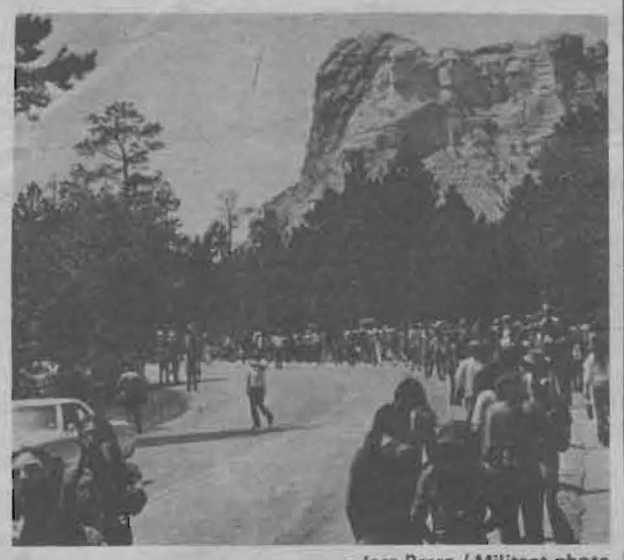
Bombs also shattered windows in the BIA office in Alameda, California. Other blasts came on June 29 in the backyards of two luxurious homes in Piedmont, California. The New World Liberation Front said in a communique received later by San Francisco radio station KPOO that it had set off the explosive devices in support of the Oglalas at Pine Ridge.

There were no injuries in any of the early-morning blasts. One home in the exclusive residential area of the Oakland hills was owned by Bruce Wilson, who said he builds engines for a living, and George W. Jamieson, part-owner of a construction company.

NWLF, a non-Indian organization, has bombed other targets such as ITT, Standard Oil, General Motors, public utilities — and now the BIA. The communique said that the California bombings were "in solidarity with our comrades at Pine Ridge against our common enemy, the ruling class parasite and their scum enforcers." It quoted five paragraphs from the Early Summer '75 edition of AKWESASNE NOTES, adding it was a newspaper "which we encourage to be read to

gain a deeper understanding of Pine Ridge and other concentration camps," the message read.

"The nightmare at Pine Ridge. . . . has been blacked out from the people by Rockefeller (NBC, CBS), Mellons (ABC). This blackout is a tactic used to keep people from finding out what's happening and to keep determined oppressed people isolated and divided. Our goals are to expose this ruling class TV/newspaper/ radio censorship and to show the need for comrades to respond in a quick, effective, revolutionary manner," it said.



— Jose Perez / Militant photo

Native People on July 4. . . at the "Shrine of Hypocrisy"

The Unitarian Universalist Association General Assembly passed a resolution abhoring the violence "aggrevated by the neglect of the U.S. Federal Government and its use of grand jury indictments and agents of the FBI and the Bureau of Indian Affairs for intimidation and oppression rather than dealing with the fundamental issue of self-determination of Native Americans." It also asked its churches and fellowships to sponsor on-going educational programs about AIM, and urged its individual members to press their legislators for action.

The United Church of Christ asked U.S. President Ford to curb any use of force that may lead to further violence at Pine Ridge.

Sparked by pleas from Episcopal rector George Pierce, Frank Star Comes Out and Harry Jumping Bull, all of the Pine Ridge Reservation, the National Council of Churches' Division of Church and Society wrote a letter to Senator Edward Kennedy, chairman of the Senate Committee on Administrative Practices and Procedures, making a formal request for an investigation of "the continuing lawlessness on Pine Ridge."

About 300 AIM members and supporters marched the four miles from Keystone to Mount Rushmore to hold a two-hour rally, emphasizing the "See South Dakota Last" boycott of tourism.

Fourth of July tourists looked on in disbelief as speakers spoke of the four presidents honored on the monument as "an example of the hypocrisy that exists in this country today." Ted Means, South Dakota AIM director, spoke of the Indian records of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Two thousand National Guardsmen were reportedly bivouacked near Mt. Rushmore in the event they would have been needed for the ceremony of mourning scheduled for July 4.

Earlier in June, the American Indian Movement ended its national convention in Farmington, New Mexico. One of the targets for the next year was the "immediate outlawing of the sale of alcohol and drugs within our borders". He said that Indians in the liquor business should get out by the end of December, and that sale of liquor by non-Indians should be stopped immediately.

Just prior to the convention, the Navajo Tribal Council had declined to allow the convention to take place on the reservation. That decision had been written up in the *Los Angeles Times/Washington Post* press service dispatches by reporter Ed Meagher as if he could make it come true: "The militant AIM, its prestige and influence declining steadily on the nation's Indian reservations, appears to be all but finished. One of its closing scenes in a probable last act was played out. . . [The vote against the convention] was a humiliating defeat. Worse, rejection by the nation's largest and most powerful tribe could result only in further erosion of AIM's credibility among other Indians."

AIM also asked for a year's boycott of tourism on Indian reservations during the bicentennial, with special emphasis on the State of South Dakota. "The biggest business in South Dakota is tourism," he noted, hoping a successful boycott would force state officials to "sit down at a table with us and begin to talk to us about the problems that face us."

Meanwhile, over in Custer, South Dakota, the jury selection in the trial of Dennis Banks for charges arising out of the Custer County Courthouse confrontation on February 6, 1973, proceeded under tight security and court-imposed restraints on news coverage.

Banks' trial began in the height of the tension and frenzied search a few miles away. Banks was acting as his own attorney. He is one of 13 persons indicted in the Custer incident and the fifth to come to trial. Three others have been convicted of riot where arson was committed and a fourth pleaded guilty to second-degree arson. Banks is, however, the first one to come to trial in Custer.

In a pretrial news conference, Judge Marshall Young forbade reporters covering the trial from disseminating any information "except that which occurs in open court, adduced only in evidence and arguments." Judge Young's order covers publication and airing of all "extra-judicial statements" by newsmen, lawyers, or witnesses, and prohibits the release of any leads, gossip, or information obtained outside the court.

BANKS ON TRIAL AT CUSTER

In a front page article July 6, Dennis Cassano wrote in the *Minneapolis Tribune* that, for example, if a written motion were filed by the defense asking that the trial be postponed because of the hysteria that has been whipped up in the area about AIM by the shooting deaths of the two FBI agents, he would be forbidden to report that. Even if there were a riot by policemen in the courtroom, the press could not report the matter.

The gag-rule also barred reporters from interpretive analysis of the merits of the case, or the credibility of evidence or witnesses.

State and local funds had been appropriated to reinforce the judge's bench and the courthouse windows with steel plates, and to provide extra law enforcement personnel, including a squad of volunteers, including local sheriff's deputies, state troopers, firemen, and representatives of the State Game, Fish, and Parks Department.

In his opening statement in his own defense, Banks told the jury that evidence would be introduced to show "that the state of South Dakota had created an atmosphere that led directly to a police riot" and that the question was not whether he was guilty or not, "but a question of finding the state guilty or not."

The jury of nine women and three men heard a reading of the charges against Banks by state Attorney-General William Janklow. These include a charge of assault with a dangerous weapon without intent to kill, two charges of burglary in connection with the breaking into and removal of weapons from law enforcement cars, two charges of second degree arson in connection with the burning of the Custer Chamber of Commerce building and damage to the Custer County Courthouse, and one charge of riot while armed with a "dangerous club or [police] riot baton."

Banks' six felony counts stem from the disturbance in this Black Hills village of 1500 during a protest over light charges against a white man who had been arrested in the stabbing death of Wesley Bad Heart Bull. Several persons were hospitalized as officers attacked the youth's mother, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, when she sought entrance into the courthouse to talk with the prosecuting attorney. Banks had been indicted on ten charges in connection with the incident in which the Chamber of Commerce was burned to the ground, several police cars were damaged, and fires started in the courthouse and a bulk oil plant.

Janklow has been carefully orchestrating the Banks trial, gradually increasing the apprehension of the community, assigning forty South Dakota police to "guard" the proceedings. Janklow was reserving for himself the Attorney General's personal privilege of trying the case.

[In May, Janklow had been in Washington for Senate hearings on confirmation of his name as a member of the U.S. Legal Services Corporation, an agency charged with providing federally-funded legal assistance for the poor. However, Janklow left the hearing room just before his name was called and did not reappear. He reportedly asked the White House to withdraw his name from consideration. In response to adverse testimony by Indian groups in earlier hearings, the Senate committee had obtained the official record of a disbarment proceeding against Janklow held in October, 1974, by the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Court. Janklow, who did not respond to summons to his disbarment proceedings, was officially disbarred for "rape, obstruction of justice, perjury, dereliction of duty, conflict of interest, and unprofessional conduct and conduct unbecoming an officer of the court."

Ironically, the Senate committee reportedly had no intention of questioning Janklow about the matter.]

Because Banks is acting as his own attorney, he is able to question jurors and witnesses, and can get underneath the veneer to any racism that might lurk there, a veneer that white people cannot penetrate on each other. Although his face remains impassive, the voice gentle, prospective jurors squirmed under his questions, their gaze fixed somewhere over his right shoulder.

"When someone mentions AIM, Mrs. Lang, what is your reaction?" he queries.

"Violence . . . uh, to some extent."

When asked what they knew of the June 26 shootings at Pine Ridge, most prospective jurors answer that "two FBI agents were killed," omitting the fact that one Indian died there too. None seem to know here in the heart of Indian Country just how many different native nations there are in South Dakota. Many are unfamiliar with the law, and under questioning by Banks, they say they would expect him to make some showing of his innocence rather than demanding that the prosecution prove his guilt.

Asked how she would feel if he didn't prove anything, a tiny woman in a mini-skirt replies to the court, "Then what would there be to determine your innocence?"

Judge Young denied a motion by Banks that the trial be dismissed on the basis of pre-trial publicity and community prejudice.

— N.E.W.S. Photo-News

Dennis Banks. . . finding the state guilty

Fred Wild, a U.S. Forest Service employee, gave testimony that he saw former Custer County Sheriff Ernie Pepin pushed out of the way by a group of people moving up the steps of the courthouse. He said police formed a line and pushed people out of the courthouse. Wild also said he saw a woman with a flagstaff break a window, a group filling bottles with gasoline, a flare lit and thrown at the courhouse, and a person taking a rifle from a car, checking it, and putting it back. He said he saw several Indians climb on a fuel truck in the street and work with the truck's valves.

"Any special characteristics to make you think these people were Indian people?" Janklow asked.

"Brown skin, black hair, their features were Indian," Wild replied.

(continued on next page)

In cross-examination, Banks asked, "Did you see me on February 6?"

"I don't know," Wild said.

"Can you identify me on the pictures [you took]?" Banks asked.

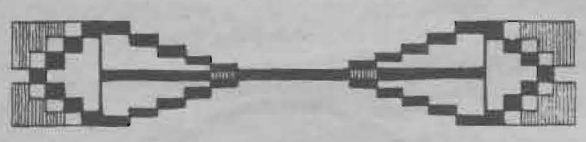
"I don't think so – no." Wild answered.

Wild also said he could not identify anyone starting the fires.

Another Forest Service employee, Cameron Ferweda, said he saw several cars pull up in front of a gas station across from the courthouse, and people he described as "Indians" opened the trunks of two cars and took out high-powered rifles. He said he did not see them use the rifles. He also said he saw people milling around the courthouse and some people filling bottles with gasoline and taking them toward the courthouse. He estimated 100 persons were involved. But under questioning, he said he was not able to identify any individual or see what was happening in detail.

Ferweda said he felt Banks was "to some degree" responsible for the incident.

Despite the fact that neither Ferweda nor Wild had connected Banks with any of the six counts against him, or any other criminal activity, assistant defense counsel John Flynn of Boston moved that their testimony be stricken. However, that motion was denied by Judge Young.



Movies made by a television crew were also shown to the court. A newsman testified that he had seen Banks enter the courthouse for the scheduled meeting, and had not seen him the rest of the day. The prosecution was expected to go until about July 24, and then a few defense witnesses would be presented before turning the matter over to the jury.

In Sioux Falls, trials are still scheduled for spectators who refused to stand for Judge Joseph Bottom who was trying other Custer defendants. The state continued to press charges, despite the dismissal of charges against persons accused of riot on the outside of the courtroom when Judge Richard Braithwaite ruled "an impartial trial cannot be obtained in this county at this time."

"WHAT HAPPENS IN CUSTER WILL SET THE PATTERN FOR INDIANS:" BANKS

[Several months before the killing of the FBI agents, Dennis Banks and his attorneys came to the decision not to ask for a change of venue from Custer, South Dakota, to a more neutral courtroom. He explained why in what might be a prophetic view. This is excerpted from an article by Jessie Sundstrom of the *Custer Chronicle* which appeared in the *Rapid City Journal* February 18, 1975.]

What happens in Custer will set a pattern in Indian treatment for the next few years.

The important thing is that on the eve of the United States' 200th birthday, the big question among Indian people – tribal leaders, attorneys, elders, chiefs – is the kind of treatment that is in store for the Indian people for the next 200 years.

Is it going to be like the last 200 years?

Whether the residents of Custer like Dennis Banks or whether they hate him, they will have to look beyond their own prejudices and opinions and think about what it is going to mean to the United States as a whole.

[I have not requested a change of venue because] if the hate is that great against Dennis Banks or AIM or Indian people, then this is where the misunderstanding is going to have to be cleared up... I have to come back to find out and see if I can walk that street by myself.

What brought [Indian demonstrators] to Custer... was the dual system of justice that we first began to experience on a national scale at Gordon, Nebraska. In December, 1974... an Indian Affairs Commission had been meeting with two [AIM] chapters in Nebraska and about the 20th I got a call from about 11 congressmen. They wanted to meet and sit down so I went there and we talked about five hours. It was a formal meeting, and we went back to 1972-73 to Wounded Knee, and here was a group of senators saying, 'We have to admit that the treatment of Indian people in Nebraska has been shameful. We admit that. Where do we go from here?'

We went through the criminal justice procedures and health... and education. We had a long discussion about jurisdiction. After 4½ hours, there was a lot better understanding than when we began it, but it took two years, from 1972 to 1974, to have it. I can't go back to Nebraska and say that they are not doing anything. Even in the last 45 days, since I met with them, I've been getting scattered reports about two bills to aid the Indian people from this very conservative group.

Whether white America wants to admit it or not, AIM has become the most outspoken and often-heard Indian voice. It is not 'the' Indian voice, nor the entire Indian group, and I would never claim to speak for anybody outside of AIM. But we reach more people, not only in the United States, but across the globe.

The opportunity for South Dakota to turn around completely, to make that complete reversal, is today.

It can happen right here in Custer.

Whether they convict Dennis Banks and send him to prison for life is not the issue. It is what the hell brought Banks here in the beginning – what brought Banks to Gordon, or Arizona, or to any of those towns where Indians are being mistreated. That's the only question that white America is going to have to deal with as we approach the Bicentennial. They shouldn't be thinking of having Indians dance at the Fourth of July celebrations.

For the first time in United States history, a lot of white Americans finally felt how it was to be cheated and deceived and lied to when they found that Nixon had been doing all these things. White America rebelled. They demanded change in the dual system of justice and they won. If white America can get that aroused and have that same burning concern for the dual system of justice that prevails for Indian people, then on July 4 we'll truly have to join hands and celebrate.

Nobody living today is responsible for what happened in 1890, the Sand Creek Massacre, or the Trail of Tears which wiped out 4,000 Cherokees. But we will be guilty if we don't do anything to change the thinking of Andrew Jackson which caused some of those problems.

That's what is in front of us as we go forward in the results of what happened on those [courthouse] steps in Custer.

CARTER CAMP, LEONARD CROW DOG, & STAN HOLDER AWAIT SENTENCING

Convictions of Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, and Stan Holder at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, for charges arising from the occupation of Wounded Knee, were not [illegible] and then again, they were.

The three American Indian Movement leaders were charged with assault and robbery of four postal "inspectors" who entered the Pine Ridge reservation March 11, 1973. At that time, the U.S. had announced roadblocks would be lifted to allow free exit of the occupation force, an offer that found few takers. However, the Oglala roadblocks were still in effect, and when the four officials entered Wounded Knee ostensibly to inspect the post office at the trading post, they were detained and disarmed.

U.S. District Court Judge Edward J. McManus delayed sentencing pending a "pre-sentence investigation". The defendants could receive up to 15 years in prison on the theft charges, and three years for the interference charges.

McManus had angered the defense by his consistent rulings against their objections. He had started out by ruling that one day and one day only was going to be spent selecting a jury.

McManus questioned members of the jury panel all at once, rather than individually. Camp explained that "he started asking these 32 people collectively, 'If you have any prejudice against American Indian people, raise your hand,' and went through his list of questions in that manner. Then he allowed our attorneys to ask only a very narrowly-outlined group of questions about pre-trial publicity, and they couldn't ask outside the presence of the other jurors. We couldn't really find out about what these jurors knew about Indian people, what they didn't know, and where their prejudices were."

"We were tried by a fascist judge in a fascist court," declared Carter Camp after the verdict. "We're not surprised by the verdict. This will just add more fuel to the fires of revolution in this country. We can struggle in the prisons just as well as in the streets, and we're not going to quit. We will just fight harder to defeat this system."

Richard D. Hurd, assistant U.S. Attorney in South Dakota, said after the verdict, "Justice was done."

Hurd said the 11 counts against Clyde Bellecourt, another of the leadership singled out for special trials, will be dismissed. Another leader, Pedro Bissonette, was killed by a BIA policeman in 1973 before he could stand trial.

Funds for the further defense of Wounded Knee occupiers can be sent to

Wounded Knee Legal
Defense/Offense Committee
POBox 918
Council Bluffs, Iowa 51501
telephone (712) 328-9406

The prosecution had presented little evidence that any of the three men had physically participated in the alleged capture or robbery of the inspectors. Instead, it argued that the three had "aided and abetted" in the crime. The case was so weak that the defense rested without calling a witness, and asked Judge McManus to dismiss on the ground that the prosecution had not proved that the three men had committed any criminal acts.

However, the court denied the motion and told the jury that the defendants could be found guilty if they had knowingly and willingly associated with other persons who may have directly committed the crimes.

Attorneys Fran Schreiberg of San Francisco, Ken Tilsen of St. Paul, and Joe Beeler of Miami assisted the defendants in showing that they had acted reasonably and responsibly during the occupation, as opposed to the aggressive and provocative actions of the government, but the jury found differently.

The only witnesses at the trial were three of the four postal inspectors who had been detained. After hearing the weak government case, the defense rested without calling any witnesses. They insisted the U.S. case was "internally contradictory", inconsistent, and failed to link the defendants with criminal behavior.

The defense had pointed out that the testimony of the three inspectors had at most showed that Camp and Holder's "participation" consisted in trying to get the four inspectors released, and that Crow Dog's only role was that he may have lectured the four on the history of white oppression of Indians.

Ken Tilsen charged that the memories of the inspectors had improved months after the events when it became clear that the three defendants were AIM leaders. He maintained the AIM charge that the court actions were part of a governmental conspiracy to keep AIM leadership tied up in courts and their funds drained.

One of the three inspectors was unable to identify any of the three defendants. Another acknowledged under cross-examination that he had written a report shortly after the incident that Crow Dog did not take "any active part" in their brief gun-point detention.

In cross-examination, Tilsen hit hardest at discrepencies in the stories of the three men, and at what he termed "late-blooming evidence". He repeatedly pointed out that after numerous interviews and written reports immediately after the incident, the three men "suddenly remembered" unreported details of the event 25 months later on the witness stand – a good deal of which incriminated Crow Dog.

Crow Dog is a medicine man and spiritual leader. He has grown up at Rosebud, and has never been to any U.S. school or hospital. He has grown up speaking his own language. As a medicine man, Crow Dog does perform naming ceremonies, burials, marriages, and other sacraments.

The all-white jury of eight men and four women deliberated the case about two hours. The case was in marked contrast to its predecessor, which took eight months to hear, and five weeks devoted to jury selection alone.

Stan Holder termed the judge "Fast Eddie" because of the speed of the trial.

Camp, Holder and Crow Dog were originally indicted on the same charges as Russell Means and Dennis Banks, but when those men had charges against them dismissed, the U.S. dropped the original charges and re-indicted them on the postal inspectors matter. Because the postal inspectors had nothing to do with the reservation before the occupation, the defense could not cross-examine them about living conditions on the reservation or other situations which created the conditions leading to Wounded Knee.

— Voices From Wounded Knee photo

During the siege on Wounded Knee, Lakota spiritual leader Leonard Crow Dog conducted sacred ceremonies, performing a role equivalent to that of a chaplain or clergyman. Yet he was charged and convicted of crimes by the U.S.

The defense also was not allowed to "educate the jury" as it did to some extent in St. Paul about violations of Indian treaties, poverty, and violence on the reservation as all that related to the occupation and the alleged crimes. Judge McManus refused to allow the defense to go beyond the bare bones of the postal inspector incident.

One motion remains before McManus which he has not yet decided — whether charges should be dismissed, despite the jury's findings, because of U.S. misconduct and discriminatory prosecution. At a separate pre-trial hearing on that motion, two AIM activists who live on the reservation recounted in moving terms a melancholy litany of killings, beatings, shootings, and other acts of violence against AIM members in which they said nothing was done to prosecute the offenders.

The pre-trial hearing also contained a carry-over from the St. Paul trial — the informer issue. During the St. Paul trial, Judge Fred Nichol ordered the chief prosecutor, Hurd, to disclose whether there were any FBI informers in the defense camp. Hurd and the other attorneys checked that out with the FBI, and reported back "no". Then, this spring, came the revelation that Douglas Durham, AIM security chief who had participated in defense strategies, was a FBI man.

Called to the witness stand by Tilsen at Cedar Rapids, Hurd said he did read an FBI file on an informant who, he was told, was "very close to one of the defendants," probably Banks. The name of the informant had been blotted out of the file, he said. He testified that he did not know the informer was Durham until Durham made his public announcement that he had been working for the FBI inside AIM since the occupation of Wounded Knee.

Hurd said the FBI told him the informant was sitting in on lawyer/client meetings, but that he had been instructed not to divulge defense trial strategy to his FBI contacts. Hurd said the informant was told to tell the FBI only about violence that was planned. Unlikely as that was, Hurd still told Judge Nichol that there were no informers in the defense camp.

Joseph Trimbach, then head of the Minneapolis area office of the FBI, a senior position, insisted during the pre-trial hearings that when he testified during the St. Paul trial that there were no informants in the defense camp, that he did not know Durham was working for the FBI.

However, one of Trimbach's agents, Raymond Williams, testified that he and other agents had about 50 contacts with Durham during the course of the trial, but that he did not know until sometime after the fact that Trimbach had testified inaccurately in denying that an informant was involved with defense strategies.

The defense made motions for dismissal of the convictions, and Judge McManus promised to treat them as "serious and nonfrivolous" moves. One motion said that the court should dismiss the convictions because the Government had deceived the court by not informing it that at least one agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation — Douglass Durham — had penetrated the defendants' legal camp and sat in on meetings on trial strategy.

The second motion contended that the U.S. decision to prosecute Crow Dog, Camp and Holder was a misuse of the judicial process. Defense attorneys cited the fact that only 7% of the 165 Wounded Knee indictments which had thus far been before the courts had resulted in convictions. Generally, the U.S. has won 78% of all cases it has tried in federal courts in the last few years.

On May 31, WKLDOC attorneys argued unsuccessfully before Judge Warren Urbom that seven Wounded Knee defendants should have their guilty verdicts set aside because their constitutional right to consult with their attorneys privately had been denied by the presence of Doug Durham, the FBI informer, who had infiltrated the inner sanctums of the defense offices.

Urbom found that while Durham had the opportunity to gain information illegally, no evidence showed that he actually turned that information over to the U.S.

During the hearing, Durham admitted knowing John Carmichael as an informer. Carmichael and his wife, Minnie Two Shoes, reside in Denver.

Still more information was released by AIM officials about FBI informers in their midst. At a conference for native youth at Carroll College in Helena, Montana, on July 18, AIM leader Vernon Bellecourt spoke on the subject of informers in AIM, and concluded his speech by introducing Bernie Morning Gun, whom he said had been exposed by AIM security people as an FBI informer.

Morning Gun then spoke to the group, saying that he now recognized that he was working against his people. He said he had been recruited in 1973, and asked to identify people involved in the Trail of Broken Treaties. Later, he was sent to Sioux Falls where he was to infiltrate the defense camp of Bellecourt and others on trial. Another assignment involved infiltrating the national AIM office to learn of AIM's European contacts and whether it was getting guns from overseas. He said he was asked to write up profiles of personal lives and personalities of AIM leaders so they could be discredited. Morning Gun said his instruction was to provoke violence wherever possible in order to discredit the American Indian Movement.

According to Morning Gun, Intermountain Boarding School in Brigham City, Utah, is a prime source of recruits, and the graduating class there is approached regularly. He also charged that the FBI frequently "launders" its funds by having the payments to informers made through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He said he was paid $500 for each useful package of information he provided.

Bellecourt said that the American Indian Movement knew of still other informers, but that it was establishing a thirty-day period of "unconditional amnesty" to "those who have been misled" and who wanted to rejoin the cause of native peoples in good graces. Excluded, he said, would be provacateurs involved in assassination attempts on AIM leaders.

The Rockefeller Commission report on the CIA indicated that the American Indian Movement was one of 14 "domestic organizations" which was "monitored" by the CIA.

— Interlandi/Los Angeles Times

"Pssst! No pictures. . . CIA. . . I've infiltrated the Indian movement!"

WOUNDED KNEE OCCUPATION FORCE WARRIORS, MEDICINE MAN, MAKE STATEMENTS DURING THEIR TRIALS

Stan Holder, Wichita:

Since 1492, the Indian warrior has been in constant combat with the whiteman for the survival of his race, from King Phillip's War to Sand Creek to McAlester State Prison in Oklahoma to the second Battle of Wounded Knee, 1973.

Yet while the Indian warrior directs his attack at the U.S. Government, the BIA, and the U.S. military forces, the whiteman directs his attack at Indian women and children on reservations, in boarding schools, in PHS hospitals, and in bars across Indian country.

And when the Indian warrior confronts the enemy of his women and children, he is called a criminal, jailed, and put on trial.

In 1492, there were eight million Indians in Indian Country. Today there is only a million. Where are the grandchildren of those seven million? Where are the murderers of Buddy Lamont, Raymond Yellow Thunder, Chief Crazy Horse and the women at Sand Creek?

I say let the truth be known. Who is the criminal? Who should be on trial?

Carter Camp, Ponca Nation:

. . . Many of us have worked toward this day for a long time. When I was fourteen, my family and I worked in the fields as farm laborers. Attracted by the promise of a little better way of life, I joined the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. It gave me a hunger for freedom.

As I grew older, I was dissatisfied inside, but I started to become pretty successful in white-eyes. Later I became president of a local (IBEW) in California. I think it was here that I began the journey back. Our union was instructed to help Cesar Chavez, and I began to organize food caravans to his small, dilapidated headquarters in Delano, California. Looking at those beautiful Chicano faces, I was suddenly and forcefully reminded of the life of my People, my tribe.

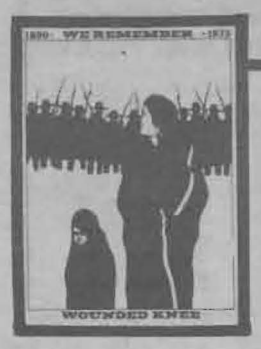
I quit my job and went home to my people. Home to hard times and freedom. I traveled and lived with the People. I heard of AIM, loved its message, and joined. I was elected to lead Kansas AIM and from there organized Oklahoma AIM. From there to the jarring confrontations at the BIA, Scottsbluff, Custer, and Wounded Knee, where I found freedom. Total, complete, beautiful freedom.

I found I was a warrior. I joined in solidarity with the fighters in Asia, Africa, South America, and the seekers of freedom all over our Mother. Still learning, but recognizing the enemy, I deeply believe that we will win. I can feel the freedom of my Grandfathers coming back, and I know my Grandchildren will live without the yoke we are fighting to throw off.

Leonard Crow Dog, Brule Sioux:

At the first AIM convention, we organized with the Sacred Pipe. My power as a medicine man was handed down from my forefathers to me. The Indian power was given to me to organize Indian people in the spiritual way of life. We know all medicine in this earth is very sacred to us. We walk on our very sacred Grandmother earth.

The American Indian Movement way of life is not only organization, but Indian education.



THE SHOOTING OF RUSSELL MEANS

On June 7 at Standing Rock Reservation, AIM leader Russell Means was wounded by gunfire. Just how it all happened remains a subject of controversy. Means was hospitalized with a bullet wound that nicked internal organs, and his condition was reported good after surgery.

The shooting caused polarization of the reservation, and the Standing Rock Tribal Council convened to hear statements regarding the incident. They were told by some of those who accompanied Means that their party of four cars was proceeding to the reservation to attend a ceremony and to spend the night at Virgil Running Bear's ranch. They had stopped near the Cannonball Bridge, just inside the reservation line, to discuss their plans when Lt. Pat Kelly and his son, Ted, stopped in a BIA police car to question them. A scuffle ensued between Kelly and Tom Poor Bear of Means' party. Means attempted to break up the scuffle, and was shot in the back by Kelly's son, they said.

Federal charges were filed against Means some sixteen hours after the incident, accusing Means of resisting and interfering with a Federal Officer. Bond was set at $5,000, but later, he was released on his own recognizance. A separate complaint charges Means with assaulting Arlen Hettich in a Fort Rice bar, and he was guarded in his hospital bed by dozens of U.S. marshals, then deputy sheriffs, then AIM security.

Means said that two cars in his caravan had turned off at Fort Rice, about a quarter of a mile off the highway, just before entering the reservation, for gas. He denies that the vehicle in which he was travelling went into the town, or that he ever entered the bar, where he is accused of assaulting Hettich with a rifle butt.

Means' bond was set at $25,000, and a hearing was held in his small hospital room. Only attorneys, one representative from each of the news media, his mother and brothers, his spiritual advisor, and a representative of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights were allowed to squeeze in with Means and court officials.

Attorney Ralph LePera had argued that Means had no previous felony convictions, and despite a long list of court appearances on charges pending, had never forfeited bond. "Mr. Means represents a different line of thinking," LePera told the court. "Where he goes, he and those around him generate controversy and conflict with the local establishment like the BIA police. In this incident, he was shot, while officer Kelly doesn't have a mark on him."

Means had posted a $5,000 bond in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, in January, 1973, on charges of assault that are still pending; $25,000 in Phoenix, Arizona, in April 1973 on charges of interstate transportation of firearms — those charges were later dropped by the U.S.; $20,000 in Custer, South Dakota, on eight counts involving disorder there that are still pending; $2,000 in April, 1974, in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for charges arising from the police fracas when spectators wouldn't rise for the judge; $2,500 on assault charges in Pierre, South Dakota; and $30,000 on an accomplice-to-murder charge pending in Rapid City, S.D.

The murder charge against Means persists despite the existence of tapes made of the deathbed statement of the murdered man saying that Means was not even in the washroom where the man was shot. Law enforcement officials did little to clear Means, such as taking routine gunpowder tests to see whether he fired the fatal shot.

Kelly says that he had been contacted by Morton County Sheriff Leo Snider regarding an incident at a bar in Fort Rice in which two white men were assaulted. Kelly said he had deputized his son, Ted, and that as he drove by the parked vehicles, Poor Bear stopped Kelly's car and poured out verbal abuse. Kelly says he got out of his car to arrest Poor Bear, Means entered the fight, and was thrown to the ground by Kelly. In the shuffle, Kelly says he had drawn his revolver, and when Means grabbed his arm, the gun went off, wounding Means in the front left side.

Police reports state it was Pat Kelly, not his son, who shot Means, and that he was shot in the abdomen, not in the back.

However, it will likely take the courts or a special commission to get at the truth of the matter and even then, the two sides may not be satisfied with that verdict.

Means said it was no coincidence that he was charged with "an incident in a bar." That, he said, was "made up to discredit anything I have to say to the press, and make it seem that whatever incident I'm in has something to do with a bar."

"Since Wounded Knee, I've been arrested twelve times — an average of once every two months," Means recounts. I'm facing seven trials now. It's kind of ironic that I moved to North Dakota to get away from South Dakota and confrontations and danger. And right away, I'm arrested twice, shot in the back, and forced into a confrontation situation."

He said that all he has to do is be in the vicinity, and "any person with a bloody nose can go and sign a complaint against me." He said it was like the old days, "when militants were called renegades," when a chief would "be blamed for 5 different raids in 5 different states within 5 days on horseback."

Immediately following the shooting, Means and all his companions were taken into custody and driven to Fort Yates, where, Means says, they were held for two hours without charges, and before Means could get medical treatment.

— Michael Kienitz/Liberation News Service photo
Russell Means . . . "a different line of thinking"

In the jail, Alan White Lightening used T-shirts to try to stop Means' bleeding. The shooting took place about 4 p.m., and Means was not admitted to the hospital until 10:30. He was taken first to the Fort Yates hospital, where he did not receive medical attention because authorities were afraid that if Means should die there, "they'll burn this place down." He finally got treatment at St. Alexis Hospital in Bismarck.

Means said his physician, a Dr. Gonzalez, would verify that the bullet entered below the shoulderblade, proceeded downward, nicking the spleen, and exited from the abdomen by the hip. The Minneapolis FBI area office issued a statement confirming that Means was shot in the back, and BIA senior special officer Calvin Yellow Robe finally confirmed in a statement tape-recorded by KSJN radio correspondent Kevin McKiernan that Means had been shot by Ted Kelly, the officer's son.

The FBI said it would not investigate Means' shooting, and based their findings on the BIA's own report in the matter. AIM members said they wouldn't have trusted the FBI report anyway, especially after knowing its manner of operation at Wounded Knee.

The following day, a fire heavily damaged a small liquor store in Cannonball owned by Mrs. Kelly, in what BIA investigator Calvin Yellow Robe says was arson. A body, that of Allan Vivier, was found in the store.

Means said the youth lived in the Kelly household.

On July 9, when Means was en route from New York to Bismarck for a preliminary hearing on the charges against him arising from the incident in which he was shot, he was arrested at the Minneapolis airport at 11:45 p.m. on an old charge of failure to display proper license plates. He was taken to the county jail at 2 a.m., and later released to the custody of an attorney.

As a result, he did not get to his hearing the following day, and it had to be rescheduled.

On June 23, Means had still more charges pressed against him. This one alleged an assault on June 6 in McLaughlin, South Dakota. On that day, however, Means was guest of honor at a powwow at Fort Berthold, North Dakota. The person who laid the complaint was one Terry Pudwell. In 1974, just as people were gathering for the International Treaty Convention at Standing Rock, Pudwell was a policeman for the town of McLaughlin and claimed he had been attacked by "AIM Indians" and shot. However, investigations proved he had, in fact, shot himself accidentally and he lost his job because of his fraud.

John Trudell Also Arrested by FBI

"The FBI should explain to us the deaths of people who have been killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation," AIM leader John Trudell said. "When we start seeing justice delivered in those terms, then maybe our people will lay down their arms. But all these FBI agents who grew up watching John Wayne like to play cowboys and Indians. This time it backfired. They ran into someone who didn't want to play. We're tired of being the only ones killed. You can only push so long, and when people have nothing to lose, they fight back."

Not too many days later, Trudell himself was arrested at his home on the Duck River Reservation near Elko, Nevada. Trudell had gone alone to the reservation trading post, operated by one John Gray, to try to persuade Gray to honor food stamps so that the older people and others without transportation could have better nutrition. Gray had maintained a long-term policy to refuse food stamps.

After concluding the conversation, Trudell returned to his home. Shortly after, he looked out the window to find his house surrounded by police officers. Trudell's wife, Tina, sneaked out to alert tribal elders, who negotiated surrender arrangements with the FBI and he was lodged in the Elko County Jail 11 p.m. July 17 on charges of assault, felonious assault, and assault with a deadly weapon. Although the FBI denies it was involved in the laying of the charges, local agent Eric Miehl was reported there throughout the entire episode.

Newspaper reports of the incident say Trudell had tried to rob the trading post and fired a shot inside the building. They reversed the surrender by saying that the tribal officials had talked him into surrender "without further gunfire". Jack Keith, Jr., agent in charge of the FBI in Nevada, said "we were called in because it was a crime on an Indian reservation."

— Harry Ring/Militant photo
John Trudell . . . even his own story suppressed

United Press International said a "gun battle had broken out between federal agents and Indians" and said the trading post had been "held up by an armed bandit."

NEW YORK ORDERS SOME WAMPUM BELTS RETURNED TO IROQUOIS OWNERS

Albany, New York – Five wampum belts held by the state of New York for nearly a century have finally been ordered returned under terms of an act passed by the Assembly May 8.

The state had claimed it had been turned over to them in 1898 for "safekeeping." It would have been returned under 1971 legislation but that contained a requirement that the Iroquois, the owners of the belts, build a museum to house it in. The museum was never built, and the requirement was termed "paternalistic."

"It might encourage the Iroquois to participate in the Bicentennial," Joseph Lisa, Democrat from Queens, dreamed. The bill passed easily – in fact, debaters took the opportunity to make the usual jokes.

A lawsuit had been announced only a few days earlier. Prepared by the Advocates for the Arts, the suit demanded that the wampum belts, which are records of past agreements and events, be returned. "They are history, the process of continuing our government, our way of life," said Oren Lyons, royaner of the Onondaga, firekeepers of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Beside the five belts, there are still others which the state has, and so far, is hanging on to tightly, although the lawsuit may change that.

In March, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society returned its wampum collection to the Onondagas. Dr. Walter S. Dunn, museum director, said he hopes other museums will follow suit.

The State museum has had copies of the belts made and these will be displayed instead of the originals.

[Thanks to Steven P. Rosenfeld and the Associated Press for parts of this information.]

CANADA TRIES TO COLLECT TAX ON U.S. WAGES EARNED BY IRONWORKER

Ottawa, Canada – Canada continued its century-long battle to convince native people that they too were "ordinary citizens" in December when the tax review board ruled that a Mohawk man living on the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga must pay Canadian income tax on income he had earned in the United States.

Russel Snow is a steelworker who travels from the reserve near Montreal to cities in the U.S. to erect bridges and tall buildings. Every weekend he returned to his family at Caughnawaga. During the year he earned $9,150 – from which he had to support his family, his travel, and his accommodations in the city.

Roland St. Onge, tax appeal board member, says "the Income Tax Act taxes all the residents of Canada. It is self-evident that an Indian falls under the Income Tax Act, especially when his income is earned outside the reserve."

[Thanks to Stuart Lake of the Canadian Press for this information.]

RESERVES EXEMPT FROM PROVINCE'S GASOLINE TAX, OFFICIALS RULE

Mohawk Nation at Tyendinaga, via Deseronto, Ontario – Residents of Indian reservations are to be exempt from provincial tax on gas bought on reserves, the Ontario Revenue Ministry announced this winter. The ruling came after a sustained effort on the part of Tyendinaga people who objected to the provincial tax as an intrusion into their sovereignty.

Native people buying gas on the reserves will be able to save a 19-cents-per-gallon tax.

ALL IS WELL AT GANIENKEH AS REDNECK DEPORTATION AND RELOCATION EFFORTS FAIL; STATE PROMISES ENCOURAGING SETTLEMENT IN SIXTY DAYS

Mohawk Nation at Ganienkeh, via Eagle Bay, New York – Efforts of white landowners to get U.S. authorities to deport to Canada native people living at the Mohawk settlement here failed when in June officials said they had no authority to take that action.

Elmer Stark, an INS official at Ogdensburg, said he could not act since the native people were protected by the Jay Treaty, signed by the U.S. and England in 1794 confirming native rights to cross the U.S./Canadian border freely and to live in either country. Benedict Ferro, a deputy district director of INS at Buffalo, N.Y., backed that stand. "The Jay Treaty allows North American Indians to come back and forth across the border at their own choosing," he said.

In mid-July, state environmental commissioner Ogden Reid held a very political meeting with the Moss Lake residents, telling them to never fear, the situation would be in hand within two months. Then he went to Ganienkeh, where he shook the hands of Mohawks who came to the road to meet him, and told them the same: never fear, the situation would be in hand within two months.

Meanwhile, Michael J. Blair, a private individual who had been funded to write a report for a state legislator on the situation, continued to vent vocal opposition to the settlement. "Here we have a group of radicals, with admitted connections with the revolutionary AIM coming down out of Canada and usurping a tract of state land. I think it's high time we found out just exactly who is behind them," he said in a radio broadcast.

Property owners in the area have been pressing the governor for action, claiming their tourist businesses have suffered because vacationers are afraid of the Indians.

The Moss lake property owners had offered to start a fund to enable the settlement to purchase land elsewhere, but Ganienkeh rejected the offer. It is the propertied group, Concerned Persons of the Central Adirondacks [COPCA] that has hired Blair as a publicity director. Blair has publicly advocated that the Mohawks be removed by a commando-type raid. "Anarchy has replaced the rule of law in the Central Adirondacks," a recent Blair newsletter said to the dismay of residents who hope for a peaceful solution.

Blair said he had in mind a 1365-acre plot at remote Tug Hill which was available for $135,000. and "lends itself more appropriately to agricultural pursuits".

To keep the white people of the area in check, Major Robert Charland, commander of the Troop D barracks of the New York State Police at Oneida, 90 miles from Ganienkeh, has established a round-the-clock checkpoint system along Big Moose Road. That has cost about $170,000 since its inception, but Major Charland believes it is worth it – "a small investment" if bloodshed is averted, he says. While he disapproves of the occupation, he says he is "determined that troopers will not enter the Indian camp to see innocent women and children slaughtered just to prove that might makes right," he says of Blair's recommendation.

Charland said a telephone hot-line had been installed from the main gatehouse to the checkpoints so there would be easy communications. He told the property owners he had no fear about trouble arising. He said the Mohawks had adopted a self-policing policy by which they control the use of weapons and keep an inventory of ammunition.

Another leavening force is Howard Rowley, a representative of the National Council of Dispute Settlement, a subsidiary of the American Arbitration Association. Along with a young assistant, Joseph Summa, he has established working relationships with Ganienkeh and COPCA.

Karoniaktajeh, a spokesman for Ganienkeh, says that if white people are upset about the settlement, they have only themselves to blame – "if white society had followed the terms of their treaties and promises, there wouldn't have been any need for AIM nor other militant groups," he says.

Most Ganienkeh residents take the COPCA position seriously, but they say its 60 or so members do not represent the thinking of most of the residents in the area with whom they can live quite peaceably.

"Many people are sympathetic to our cause. They know us well enough to know we haven't done anything wrong," says Karoniakta, a 30-year-old Mohawk.

His bitterness is reserved for men like State Senator James H. Donovan and Assembleyman William Sears, both of whom have repeatedly called for the ouster of the Mohawks.

"Guys like Sears and Donovan can scream and scream and scream for a forced eviction," he says. "But they're not going to be the ones leading the eviction. They'll be sitting at home in their comfortable chairs, watching television, and seeing 18-year-old state policemen carried out of here dead."

He insists the people at Ganienkeh only want to be left alone, and will resort to violence only out of self-defense. "This is my home," he says calmly. "The only home I have any more, and I'll defend my home with whatever I have."

Karoniaktajeh . . . a Ganienkeh spokesman
[Thanks to Jeff Conlon of the Clifton Courier and Associated Press for this information, in part.]

MOHAWKS SERVE NOTICE ON CANADA THAT BAND COUNCILS LACK POWER

Mohawk Nation @ Kanawake – Mohawks of the Confederacy of the People of the Longhouse have served notice on the Canadian Government that they will oppose any negotiations, agreements, or settlements on land claims made with Indian Act "band councils" or other groups.

Recent news items indicate Caughnawaga's elected council, represented by O'Reilly, Allain & Hudon, are considering pressing a land claim. However, the Confederacy has told Canadian officials that it regards the elected councils as illegitimate and illegal under international law, and that those councils are not in possession of title to the lands which have never been surrendered by the Confederacy.

SIX NATIONS RESOLUTION REGARDING SACRED THINGS

The Grand Council held at Onondaga by the Houdenosaunee, the Confederacy of the Six Nations, on December 28, 1974, passed a resolution forbidding the sale of religious objects listed below:

Wampum Beads	False Faces (large & small)
Cornhusk Faces (large & small)	Turtle Rattles
Gourd Rattles	Pumpkin Rattles
Snow Snakes	Condolence Canes

Tapes and Records of Religious Songs and Dances

This pertains only to the sale of the above listed objects to non-Indians, historical societies, museums, collectors, etc.

Indians may continue the exchange of the above-listed items among one another. We are attempting to bring back from the museums and collectors the above-listed items, and in order to do this, we must abide by our own policy. Your cooperation will make this possible. Onen.

The Six Nations Council of Chiefs
POBox 152
Nedrow, New York

THE SLOW DEATH OF MERCURY POISONING

While Kenora, Ontario, festers on the poison of racism, the native people are dying of the poison of mercury.

Two Japanese experts on Minamata disease — environmental mercury poisoning — say the situation at two reserves near Kenora is grave and shocking.

They found symptoms consistent with early mercury poisoning. Cats at White Dog and Grassy Narrows reserve are dying the same bizarre deaths as cats in Minamata and Niigata, Japan, before the disease showed up in humans a few years ago.

The Japanese experts termed the Canadian governmental officials supposedly involved with the mercury situation as "irresponsible, indifferent, and [they] know nothing about mercury at all."

So far, all the meaningful data collected on the subject in Canada has come not from government, but from concerned laymen.

"If you don't start action you will have a more serious result than we had," Dr. Jun Ui, professor of urban engineering at the University of Tokyo, told a public meeting at the University of Toronto in late March.

Dr. Masazumi Harada, of the University of Kumamoto, and chief medical investigator of Minamata Disease in Japan, said, "The situation is very shocking. Please don't repeat the mistakes we made in Japan."

Dr. Harada showed a film of Japanese cats writhing in uncontrollable spasms, or trying to walk on hind legs that wouldn't respond. Many cats in that country dragged themselves to the sea and drowned themselves.

Before the disease was dubbed Minamata Disease, people of that town called it "cat's dancing disease".

Then he showed a film of a cat from the White Dog reserve. It was going through the same motions.

After their investigations in the north, the two experts then spoke at the University of Toronto's Medical Science Center along with Chief Andy Keewatin. They told the general public it should organize support to force the Canadian Government to release all its reports on mercury poisoning and to stop the companies from further pollution.

Dr. Jun Ui said, "I think that in the Dryden [Kenora] area it is worse than it is in Japan. Here, there's not as much mud and the mercury lies on top longer, while in Japan the mud covers it up and it's coming out of the various river mouths."

Dr. Jun Ui told the audience, "If it were this bad in Japan, people would actually be taking matters into their own hands."

The two physicians were also shocked at the living conditions of the native people. "If people had to live like that in Japan," they said, "they'd automatically rebel."

People can get mercury poisoning by eating the types of food in the area: fish, ducks, and even deer which drink the polluted water and eat the poisoned grass along the shore. The disease, which attacks the central nervous system, has no known cure. It makes people act something like a drunk.

In 1956, when Minamata Bay in Japan was polluted with heavy metals, the people of Minamata took the struggle into their own hands and won an anti-pollution law which places the burden of proof on the company that it is not polluting. If the people can show they suffered harm, the company must pay 100% compensation, plus 100% of whatever it costs for them to clean it up.

The two Japanese scientists pried out of Ottawa officials the information that a cat brought into the area and fed the same fish the native people eat developed Minamata disease within 100 days. The Canadian Government has said that the official results will not be released for 1½ years.

Dr. Ui said the pulp waste in Dryden was incredible in a country that had been described to him as a kind of paradise with green forests and blue lakes. He also expressed surprise in the "large difference between the whites and the Indians, especially the miserable living conditions on the reserves."

And, he added, "all of us were surprised with the meeting with the Standing Committee for Mercury Pollution in Ottawa. Some members of the Government are irresponsible and indifferent in their attitude. Some know nothing of mercury at all."

— Le Nouvel Observateur /Liberation News Service photo

A victim of Minamata disease in Japan — now the Objiwa are victims-to-be

In July, ten White Dog and Grassy Narrows people, at least some of whom are sure to have mercury poisoning, were brought to Tokyo by the Minamata Patients' Federation, composed of Japanese people who are victims of the disease. There they will see medical experts — doctors who know something about the disease.

Just a week before, Prof. Tadao Takeuchi announced from Kumamoto that brain specimens of two cats, one from each reserve, showed both cats had been poisoned. One of the cats had died with the classic symtoms of mercury poisoning, and the other cat was killed before the disease itself had finished it off.

At the same time, the governor of Kumamoto prefecture in which Minamata lies added 15 more persons to the list of 723 known victims of the disease. 120 persons on the list have already died.

Government experts have traced the source of the mercury in the affected English and Wabigoon River systems to the Dryden Chemical Company in its processes to supply the companion Dryden Pulp and Paper Co. mill. The company says it will be converting to a non-mercury system later this year "if the equipment comes in time." However, it is inherent in mercury poisoning that the mercury will be in the water for generations to come, and people who already have the disease but who have not yet begun to show outward symptons cannot be helped.

Ian Ramsay, director of Environment's Thunder Bay office, confirmed that the mercury in the bottom sludge is expected to be a problem "for nobody knows how long." He thinks the Kenora "problem" is going to be a longer, stretched-out version of the Minamata tragedy.

Dr. Peter Newberry, a retired Canadian Forces physician, has been at the reserves since last November. He tells of one 35-year-old man with high mercury readings, a man who once had hopes of playing professional hockey, who now has an uncontrollable quiver in his upper lip, difficulty pronouncing some words, and is unable to balance on one foot with his eyes closed. That is the beginning of the end.

Grassy Narrows is just 50 miles from Kenora. It's only commercial food supply is the Hudson's Bay Company's store, where food prices are about twice the rates in Kenora. A dozen eggs are $1.65, bacon $1.85 a slab pound, apples $2.35 for five pounds. The Indian Affairs Department had rejected a plea from Grassy Narrows for help in starting a non-profit cooperative store — the Department ruled such a store would be unfair competition for the Hudson's Bay Co.

The Ontario and Canadian Governments continue to sidestep the issue. On April 30, the Ontario Government offered the Indians community freezers and access to uncontaminated lakes so they may fish to stock the freezers.

Recently, the standard don't-eat-the-fish letters sent to residents of the two reserves were withdrawn. The universal advice now is not to eat the fish.

Ontario Cabinet ministers, notably Health Minister Frank Miller, repeatedly told the Ontario Legislature last fall that "we told the Indians to stop eating the fish." Actually, there were three letters — severely poisoned persons were told no more fish, while those less-severely poisoned were advised to eat smaller fish, and to fish in waters with lower mercury counts.

The politicians and their scientific hired hands were still saying that they lacked proof that the mercury is damaging Indian health. "We are getting more cautious," they concede.

Besides, as Dr. Peter Connop, Thunder Bay zone director of the federal Health Ministry's medical services branch says, "All the politics of the whole matter are very complicating factors."

That includes efforts on the part of the government not to say anything that might further damage the tourist and sport-fishing industries of Ontario's north, already taking losses in their profits from the temporary bans on fishing for food the Ontario Government issued in 1973.

As a partial and temporary measure, native people at Restigouche Reserve on the St. Lawrence River in eastern Quebec announced it would ship freshly-caught salmon to their relatives at White Dog and Grassy Narrows. All costs of the donated shipment were covered by the Micmac reserve. In return appreciation, the Ontario reserves sent wild rice to Restigouche.

Aileen M. Smith, who with her husband, W. Eugene Smith, one of the U.S.' most famous news photographers, had documented the Minamata disease, tells how she had talked to her friends in Japan about what was happening with the native people in Kenora. "They shake their heads. 'Won't we ever learn?' they say. I wish the Canadians could hear Minamata patients speak of Canada as though it were just as close to them as any part of the Minamata area. I wish somehow that I could make those people in Canada feel the anguish in the eyes of the Minamata patients for the patients-to-be."

[Thanks to Loren Lind and Peter Whelen of the Toronto Globe and Mail, to Betty Lou Lee of the Hamilton Spector, to Glenn Lazore, New Canada, and to Reuters for this information.]

A RELATED BOOK

Minamata. *Words and photographs by W. Eugene Smith and Aileen M. Smith, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, N.Y. 1975. $10.00 paperback from AKWESASNE NOTES.*

...To tell the [Minamata] story, W. Eugene and Aileen Smith lived in Minamata for more than three years. Both members of the team were closely identified with the struggle in Minamata, and Eugene, who is one of the world's great photographers, was brutally assaulted by employees of the factory that dumps mercury into Minamata Bay.

Their recently published book gives an intimate picture of Minamata, its heroes and heroines who are the victims of the Minamata Disease. *Minamata* is a beautiful book, a very moving expression of photography and word, dramatic and often poetic.

In 1959, Chisso Corporation [the polluter] faced a steady confrontation from angry members of the Fishermen's Union whom it calmed by signing token indemnity contracts which minimized its corporate liability. Protests almost ceased. [Then some victims brought the matter to court.] Two and a half years after the beginning of the Minamata trial, the 'direct negotiations group' under Teruo Kawamoto, who was moved by a "deeply rooted, almost spiritual belief that face-to-face confrontation was the only way to force Chisso into responsibility", pitched tent in front of Chisso's Tokyo office, and another in front of the Minamata plant. Chisso barred its doors and put up barbed wire.

The flag dramatizing the cause of the victims in their long struggle with Chisso displayed the Japanese character which, in its closest translation, means 'vengeance' — "Even after death we will remember what you have done to us." 'Vengeance' written on their flags does not mean revenge, Smith says. "It means something more intense, almost mystical — that we shall pursue to justice, and even then we shall not forget."

Emblazoned on their shirts and blouses, on their banners, they carried the message across the nation: "Industry has no divine right to pollute in the name of gross national product."

"The rage of the patients had to be felt," Smith writes, "not only by patients but by the whole nation. They needed the notoriety that their supporters brought them, as well as sympathy, to keep a spotlight on Chisso and keep their uprising alive. The snapping of flags in the wind, the chants of marching supporters, the sometimes outrageous demonstrations, these finally, truly, crept into the consciousness of a nation. This was a cry from the wounded that was not to be smothered."

More than any other single force, Kawamoto "took the issue out of a closed power system and put it into the public domain." The prolonged suit in the Kumamoto District Court ended on March 20, 1973, with awards from $60,000 to $68,000 granted to each victim. By early 1975, it would have paid indemnities of more than $80-million.

Living with its victims, the Smiths identified with "those who were left with enough of their lives and their senses and enough courage to take a stand and fight back." They "have set precedents and conditioned minds in ways that will have repercussions throughout the world. Japan itself, in a painful effort at reevaluation, is endeavoring to change its attitudes toward the environment and its people."

How long will native Indians residing in the environs of Dryden suffer indifference to their well-being from industry and government?

— George Yamada

[This review is excerpted from a longer one which appeared in Rikka Magazine.]

A DYING PEOPLE GET A FRIENDLY LETTER FROM CANADA'S MEDICAL SERVICES PERSONNEL

[In the face of a full-scale mercury poisoning disaster, the following letter dated 17 March, 1975, was sent to native people of the Grassy Narrows and White Dog Reserves. They had had their blood tested earlier in the year.]

Medical Services Branch
6th floor, Thunder Bat Hydro Building
34 North Cumberland Street
Thunder Bay, Ontario P7A 4L3

Dear - - - - -,

As agreed with your chief and councillors, I am forwarding the results of the blood test for mercury that was taken in January and February, 1975.

Your level of mercury was found to be - - - - parts per billion. From this measurement and our conversations with both you and other people in your band, there is no suggestion that mercury is affecting your health or the health of anyone else in the band who gave us a blood sample.

Most of the band members have mercury levels which are higher than the people living in Southern Ontario who do not eat much fish, but this is to be expected, and the mercury level does vary from person to person without necessarily having any effect on their health. We consider your mercury level to be in the range of measurements which would not affect your health.

We realize that this matter of mercury in the fish is a difficult one to understand and the experts are still learning more about mercury and its effects, but it is also important to remember that to keep healthy, it is necessary to eat balanced meals which contain some meat or fish as well as starchy foods such as bread, and fats such as margarine or butter.

To keep your mercury level at the same number or reduce it, three steps can be taken: (1) do not eat more fish from the English River than you do at present; (2) always select the smaller fish and remember that whitefish contains less mercury than pike or pickerel, (3) take fish from above the falls at Maynard Lake, or from the lakes and rivers away from the English River because the fish in these waters are much lower in mercury.

If you have any suggestions about mercury, I suggest that you send them either to Dr. G.J. Stopps, Community Health Standards Division, 15 Overlea Blvd, 5th floor, Toronto, Ontario, or to myself at the above address.

We should like to thank you for your help in measuring the mercury levels, and plan, if your chief and councillors agree, to return in the near future to measure mercury levels again to check whether they have remained the same or have shown any change.

Yours sincerely,

Peter J. Connop
Zone Director
Thunder Bay Zone

"A Little Help From the Rest of Us"

[These are excerpts from an article by Betty Lou Lee, medical writer for the Hamilton Spectator, in which it first appeared on March 26, 1975.]

If 1300 white citizens of Hamilton or any other community were threatened by an environmental hazard that involved both their health and their jobs, we'd be up to our armpits in government experts, letters to the editor, and calls for action.

The fact that 1300 Indians in two remote reserves near Kenora have been living under such a threat for five years gets an occasional flurry of publicity, but not much else.

..Some tourist lodge operators have received government compensation for their losses from the drop in sports fishing. Even some of the companies that dumped mercury into the water system got grants for pollution abatement. What the Indians got was welfare...

The Japanese visitors found that federal scientists have been feeding cats fish from the Kenora area for years, and watching every animal develop mercury poisoning. But they have not published their findings...

[The native people's] biggest problem is their invisibility and the stereotypes in the minds of white. They aren't camped in downtown Toronto or Hamilton or Ottawa. They are stuck on two miserable reserves that few whites have ever seen and probably wouldn't want to. If some of them have the shakes and a lot of them don't have jobs, what else is new?

They want industrial mercury discharges stopped completely. They want some government help in getting re-established. They want all the mercury reports that assorted government departments have tucked away. They want thorough and competent medical investigation, not just annual tests of their hair and blood.

Not one of those requests is unreasonable, but after five years, they still haven't been met.

Oh, yes, they want one other thing — some help from the rest of us who have enough political clout that we wouldn't put up with such a situation in our own communities for a minute.

"Let's Not Kid Ourselves — Have We Really Run Out of Options?"

...Let's not kid ourselves. In the case of the Kenora Indians and the mercury-contaminated fish, we are not up against some mysterious, indefinable clash of cultures. We cannot ascribe our failures to some real or assumed trait in the Indian character. The problem could scarcely be more straightforward — the fish that are a staple in the diet of the Indians are poisonous — but the Ontario and Canadian Governments have failed ignominiously to put matters right.

They have, of course, wrung their hands (this is in the traditions of the relationship) but there is not much more that can be filtered out of their part in the affair. The Indians have been advised not to eat the fish. They have also been advised that they may eat the fish. And finally, they have been advised not to eat the fish.

Dr. Peter Newberry, a physician paid by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Society of Friends to help the Indians has said that 15 of 17 Indians he examined showed early symptoms of mercury poisoning. The doctor concedes that he too tells the Indians to eat the fish as a choice between fish and not much else. "It is sort of distressing," he says.

Indeed it is — but have we really run out of options?

...The opportunities for two-level government cooperation would seem to beckon strongly from Kenora, but we won't hold our breath. Now if oil had been found on the reserve, or if we had to flood it for a power dam, relocation would be purposeful and brisk.

[This editorial appeared in the Toronto Globe and Mail.]

— Canadian Press photo

Mercury poisoning and similar unnecessary problems have caused such social havoc at Grassy Narrows that family structures deteriorate. On many summer weekends, there are virtually no adults there as parents leave for nearby communities. The children wait, not knowing much about mercury, and the disease that they too already have.

the poisoning of the north

(This article is based on a special documentary produced by the "As It Happens" program of the Canadian Broadcast Corporation's radio network. Following that initiative, further information was broadcast by CBC national news and "Sunday Magazine". We are grateful to those broadcasters for their research and concern.)

"What we've got here is a kind of thing like those syphlitics in the United States in the South twenty years ago whom the U.S. Public Health Service decided to divide into two groups. One group that would get antibiotics. And one group that would get no treatment. And they would observe them and see what happened to a person with syphilis who didn't get any treatment. I think you've got the same thing in Yellowknife."

That is the opinion of Dr. Kingsley Kay of the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine's Experimental Laboratory in New York after studying the rate of hospital admissions and other medical data on the town of Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

The "control group" are the Indian people of Old Town and the Bay area of Yellowknife. The "treated group" are primarily the non-Indian government workers and mine employees.

In 1955, Dr. Kay helped put together a medical and environmental report on Yellowknife for the Government of Canada. Dr. Kay made the comments above in response to a federal study of the same area, made in 1969 – and never released for public discussion.

The Town of Yellowknife sits on a sandy plain on the northern shore of the Great Slave Lake in the NWT. At either end of the town, sitting like two large brackets are the holdings of Giant Yellowknife Gold Mines Ltd., part of Falconbridge and Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. of Canada. Both sites are actively-producing gold mines. While they produce gold for export out of the Yellowknife area, they also release into the water and air immediately present another element. Arsenic.

On October 10, 1974, in response to recent territorial legislation requiring every industry using water commercially to apply for a license, there was an application from Giant Mines. When the spectre of arsenic poisoning among the native people was raised the Giant Mines hearings were suddenly adjourned.

At that time, there were rumors and speculations about arsenic poisoning, but no clear evidence. When Elizabeth Dry Geese, for instance, died reportedly of cancer, there were rumors going the rounds of Old Town that she, in fact, had a high level of arsenic in her body. This was finally confirmed by one of the town aldermen who said that she had died with a very high level of arsenic. The Indian Brotherhood of the NWT and the Yellowknife Town Council responded by demanding that the records of the autopsy of Elizabeth Dry Geese be subpoenaed.

Arsenic is related to cancer and its accumulation in the body can cause cancer. So it becomes a moot point whether a death such as Elizabeth Dry Geese's is "caused" by cancer, or "caused" by arsenic. Studies which were available in October on arsenic poisoning were denied to the hearings by public officials. The Department of National Health and Welfare told a CBC reporter that there were no such records available.

The charges and rumors fostered by the denial of information at the hearings were enough to cause an atmosphere of unease and worry among those who understood what the hearings were about.

The purpose of the unpublished federal study begun in 1966 and completed in 1969, and which health and welfare officials denied existed in October, 1974, was "to determine the extent to which the health and well-being of the residents of Yellowknife and the immediate surrounding districts is affected by arsenic in the environment."

A mortality study was made of the residents of Yellowknife, comparing the deaths which occured over a nine-year period in the area, to the number of deaths which had occured in an arsenic-free area. Diseases of the nervous system were higher than expected. Deaths among males were consistently higher than expected. There was a higher-than-expected death rate because of diseases of the respiratory system.

The study notes that the team could very easily have underestimated disease rates and deaths because of the highly-transient white population, and their tendency to go South for treatment.

A similar type of study completed in 1955 was launched in 1952 when some Indian people in the area apparently died of arsenic poisoning. Also, about that same time a small herd of cattle brought in to provide milk for the community died after drinking arsenic-polluted water. Dr. Kay was a key member of that study and he compares its report with the later study:

"In the first report, because it was done within five years of the opening of the townsite, we examined hospital admissions. And we found no differences in the cause of hospital admissions between Yellowknife and other parts of Canada other than in terms of respiratory conditions. At that time, we put that down to the intensive cold there. In this second report, a rather more exhaustive study of the medical aspect was made. And this second study has shown that many of the health effects of arsenic – skin conditions, cardiovascular effects, neuropathology, loss of sensation – these effects showed up in the 1966 study and paralleled what we know to be the effects of arsenic on people."

Dr. Kay points out that even then, some 18 years after smelting operations started in Yellowknife, the arsenic situation was just building up. "Today, I think, one would likely see a substantial incidence of cancers above what would normally be expected," he says.

"We did a study in 1955. The Government of Canada did a study in 1966. Perhaps they'll do another in 1976. But the fact of the matter is that those [Indian] people are getting sick. And they're just human beings used for experimental purposes. They're not really very dissimilar to the people whom the Nazis had in the war."

Dr. Kay is not surprised when the Canadian Government refused to make the 1969 report public, since he recalls "they were not very keen" about what the 1955 study said. The unpublished federal study contains a clinical survey of 369 male residents, showing a high incidence of skin lesions, chronic non-specific respiratory diseases, and electro-cardiographic changes.

One major change has taken place since the 1969 study was completed. The Town of Yellowknife, where most white mine and smelter workers live, now has its water piped in from a source located some distance away from Yellowknife Bay on which the town is built. The Indian community, however, does not have running water.

Mike Sikyea is a 70-year-old Dogrib man. He draws his water by cutting blocks of ice out of the Yellowknife River, putting it in a sack, and carrying it home on his back. Water can be delivered to homes by truck, but City Hall wants $5 a month for that service. According to Mrs. Mario Batsina, Mike Sikyea's neighbor, elders who see little cash except when they get their old-age pension cannot afford to spend their money on water. Mrs. Batsina says there are lots of old people like Mike Sikyea.

Mrs. Batsina has a dog team. "A year ago, we used to give fish to our dog and our dogs were fat," she says. "But this year, a lot of people give fish to their dogs and the dogs are becoming skinnier. The fish is real polluted. Oil or gas – that's how it tastes."

When spring comes, Mrs. Batsina says, the ponds in which the arsenic mine wastes settle overflow their dams and empty into the river.

"In the North here, in Yellowknife, a lot of native people I go and visit are always saying they're chilly, they're cold, they're in poor health. It's from pollution air, I guess. You go out of town, like maybe Fort Rae or some other little small settlement, people are just healthy, not cold. It's in the air, I think, because a lot of people are complaining of lung trouble."

Mrs. Batsina says her children used to swim four or five times a day every summer. Now, they complain that the water is green, and when they come out, they feel dizzy and their eyes burn. Since then, she says, they hardly swim once a week. Mrs. Batsina also recalls Elizabeth Dry Geese telling her, "My lungs always sore." Only after she died did doctors connect arsenic poisoning to her complaints.

The mines should be paying for the people's water supply, and a corps of inspectors should see that polluted waters do not flood into the river, Mrs. Batsina says. She and Mike Sikyea say the Dogrib people only found out about arsenic poisoning recently. The government people never mentioned it to them, until finally in May or June, 1974, signs went up in Dogrib warning of the danger to be found in the water.

Mike Sikyea knows what the signs say, but he continues to pack ice from the river because of the cost of water. But it's more than money. "Before the white men come here in 1914, there was not the soul of a white man around here. And the people were feeling very healthy at that time. When they start the mine, that's the time the arsenic was exposed. It's getting worse now."

"And people are afraid," adds Mrs. Batsina.

The secret federal study of 1969 would back their fears. Arsenic, it says, seems to be causing "mental, psycho-neurotic and personality disorders, with particular reference to psycho-neurotic disorders... increased rates for upper respiratory disorders among males in Yellowknife... increased rates of leukemia ... neoplasms of the lymphatic system, allergic manifestations, diabetes, ulcerated stomach and duodenum, arterio-sclerotic degenerative heart disease."

The study does not distinguish between native and non-native patients. But Yellowknife townsite is a traditional Dogrib community, to which many native people have moved in recent years – with government encouragement and pressure. Yellowknife is the one sizable town in the Northwest Territories. And the NWT is the only jurisdiction in North America with a population whose majority is native.

Native leaders say it is because there is the native majority that the area does not have full provincial status. The Canadian Government says there is an insufficient economic base for provincial status. But in any case, the Dogrib, Slavey, Inuit and other native people of the NWT had a sufficient economic base for a very long time before gold was discovered. The government of the territory is largely under the control of a federally-appointed commissioner. That means that the arsenic problem can be dealt with only by the federal government.

Dr. Tom Hutchinsons, a professor of the Environmental Research Department of the University of Toronto, recently conducted a study of the Yellowknife area. He found a significant arsenic problem related to the two mines in the Yellowknife area.

The arsenic enters the lakes through a variety of streams upriver from the townsite. The arsenic enters the sediments, where it accumulates faster than it leeches out, with a pollution factor higher than anywhere else in North America. Lead, zinc, copper and cadmium also pollute the waters – they are in the ore, and not extracted in the smelting, so they find their way back into the soil. All these metals showed up in high quantities in the fish found close to the discharge waters.

Shrimp, snails, and the whole variety of small life living on the bottom of the bay are contaminated with arsenic, lead, and zinc. The result is a cumulative food-chain effect. That is, each larger life-form which eats many smaller animals will have an increasing accumulation of these poisons in its system.

"One would have to be concerned with any part of the population using fish as a large part of their diet," Dr. Hutchinson concluded. "A second concern is that a 1974 study compared to a 1971 study shows that the plant life in the area is also contaminated. So we're not just talking about a water problem."

Dr. Hutchinson's confirms with his scientific studies what Mrs. Batsina observed.

Last summer, Environment Canada, a government department, began legal proceedings against Giant Yellowknife Gold Mines under a section of the Fisheries Act which says that "no one shall deposit a deleterious substance in waters frequented by fish." But while Environment Canada can protect the fish, a departmental spokesman says it cannot take action on behalf of people -- they are under the jurisdiction of the Department of National Health and Welfare. That department has chosen to keep the 1969 report under wraps.

Dr. Bertram Carneau, chairman of the University of Illinois School of Health, will soon be hosting a medical conference to re-evaluate all available evidence on the effects of arsenic and lead. Dr. Carneau studied the 1969 unpublished federal report when a copy was provided by journalists. He says:

"It is critical that the population at large know about it. Where we find that a toxic substance is causing an irreversible disease, such a thing should be made public immediately." Dr. Carneau adds, "From a physician's and researcher's standpoint, I would have to be very critical of a researcher who did not release such data."

Dr. Carneau describes what arsenic does to our bodies. Everybody knows that a large quantity of arsenic is a poison. What people do not realize is that it can do things even in doses that don't kill. Certain brain enzymes are attacked by arsenic. The heart muscles are attacked. Arsenic can hit virtually any system. It can cause lesions of the skins, discolorations, abnormal growths, and eventually cancer of the skin.

He also said most definitely that he certainly would not swim in water with arsenic as Mrs. Batsina's children had been doing.

Arsenic can also attack the intestinal system causing ulcers, or just nausea and vomiting. It also affects the general nervous system causing motor palsy and abnormalities of balance and walking. Children and the elderly can be affected by levels of poisoning that do not bother healthy adults at all.

The problem is increased by the fact that an arsenic-caused cancer might take 20 years to develop. And nobody knows what the "safe-level" is; no one knows how much arsenic it takes to produce a cancer. "As far as I'm concerned, there is no safe level," Dr. Carneau says.

The cancers being found in Yellowknife in unusually high numbers "are not common cancers," according to Dr. Carneau. It fits, in his opinion, with the presence of arsenic in the environment. "To warn everyone is the obligation of the scientist," he feels.

But the Department of National Health and Welfare waited until July 17, 1974, at a meeting of the Yellowknife Town Council protection committee, to warn that people drinking water directly from Yellowknife Bay could become poisoned over a period of time. It wasn't until October that signs were posted in the Bay area where Mike Sikyea and his neighbors fetch water.

Neither Health & Welfare, nor Indian Affairs, unlike the Environment Department which is suing to protect the fish, have ever begun a suit to protect the people.

On January 8, 1975, the people of Yellowknife found out about the unpublished federal report. They were angered, frustrated, embittered. Native and non-native leaders alike responded in horror, demanding immediate full disclosure of information.

Dr. Allie Wieger, director of medical services for the Mackenzie District of the NWT for National Health and Welfare, says he was unaware of the 1969 report, probably because it was conducted before he came to Yellowknife. Now that he is aware of the report, however, it still has not been officially released.

What the people should have been told was that the water supply was fit to drink only 15% of the time. That's when it was within the maximum permissible level of 0.05 arsenic parts per million parts of water. On June 20, 1966, the water contained 2.2 parts per million -- 44 times the maximum safe level and 10 times the generally-accepted emergency level. During June and July, the waters were of acceptable quality only 1% of the time.

Bob Jenkins, a city alderman, thinks this explains why the water main supplying the more affluent section of the city was extended to draw on the Yellowknife River upstream from both mines -- that happened following the completion of the 1969 secret report.

Don Woods, a former alderman who was in office at the time the report was being done recalls that at that time, "about every six months the gold mines were breathing their last breath. I think probably at that time a decision was taken that it would have killed Yellowknife [economically] if the report had been released."

Today, Yellowknife is largely a town of government employees, but "until recently it was felt that if either of the mines closed down, it would have an incredible effect on Yellowknife, and if both closed down it would be disastrous." Gold, in 1969, was a mere $35.00 an ounce. But Don Woods believes that if the report had been released, Yellowknife people would have demanded a total clean-up and the mines might well have shut down.

The Indian Brotherhood of the NWT made five demands on the Federal Government in response to the news. First, they joined in supporting the chief and band council of the Yellowknife band in demanding free and adequate water delivery services to the people who live in Old Town. Secondly, adequate guarantees were demanded to prevent a spring flood spill from the settling ponds of Giant Yellowknife Mines. Thirdly, they wanted a massive clean-up on the part of the two mines, or a shutdown until they can clean up. Fourth, a health survey by private doctors was demanded, in conjunction with Indian organizations, and without the participation of government health officials. And last of all, they demanded that Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Judd Buchanan, accept responsibility for the situation in order to stop the buck-passing that goes on amongst the many departments.

James WahShee, president of the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT, stresses that there must be safeguards and controls built into any land claim negotiations. "Up to now, the Indian people have been completely left out as far as the environmental controls are concerned. The Federal Government has not lived up to its responsibility not only for protecting the Indian people, but also for protecting the environment," he says.

WahShee, who is also chairman of the Federation of Native Peoples North of 60, says that his people "were very much surprised by learning of the effects that arsenic has. Our people have been very concerned within the Old Town. But it's the same situation, you know -- when something affects the Indian people, nobody takes notice of it until it affects everybody."

A few years ago, during a discussion of the arsenic pollution problem in the Yellowknife Town Council, one alderman who felt the problem was being overplayed thumped his chest and declared he was still healthy. Less than two months later, he was in hospital. He died from cancer.

Today, Judd Buchanan, speaking for the Canadian Government, described the new water system installed after the 1969 report as a "significant action" and he spoke of the reduced levels of emmission of pollution into the air. He left the impression that everything had been corrected.

Two days after broadcasters released details of the unpublished report, on January 10 of this year, Marc Lalonde, Minister of National Health and Welfare, called a press conference and released the full text of the original report. He denied that there had been a cover-up, and said he did not know why the word "cover-up" should be used. But he also carried on the tradition of dodging -- "I wasn't there and I can't tell you what was the decision at that particular time and why the report was not made public." The minister who was responsible, John Munro, is now Minister of Labor. He refused to comment, saying Health and Welfare was no longer his responsibility. Catch 22.

Lalonde does not agree that arsenic is responsible for the high incidence of illness in Yellowknife. But Wally Firth, Member of Parliament for the Northwest Territories, and a Metis who has lived in Yellowknife since 1963, does not accept Lalonde's contention.

"When you consider that medical people are saying that the health of the people of Yellowknife is endangered, and this report was not made public, it's like going to a doctor to get a medical exam and you're not told the result... If a few bricks of gold are worth more than six or seven thousand people's health, then I don't think that's very good judgment. The statement from Lalonde and the other one from Buchanan that we have nothing at all to worry about does not sit well with me."

Firth notes that medical people say that once you have been exposed to arsenic poisoning you are a potential victim.

"The change in the water supply may help for the future, but it does not rectify the situation. There are people who've been born and raised in Yellowknife. I've lived here since 1963 and there are people who've lived here a lot longer -- these people have reason to worry. The mines should be paying for this if they are guilty. I think it's important that a team be set up to investigate the situation."

Firth doesn't want the federal health people to have anything to do with the investigation. "They've let us down already. I don't think we can trust them with that again."

People recall that in 1969, southerners who moved north and who grew vegetable gardens were told to be careful. But they didn't tell them that their leaf lettuce could contain amounts of arsenic that could cause serious health problems. When that information was given to the local radio station by a private doctor concerned with the number of sick people visiting his office, government officials assured the town that the arsenic in their salads wouldn't be enough to hurt them.

Wally Firth agrees that "there is some validity" to James WahShee's charge that the public is only concerned now because the white population may be affected. "I think it's important to add also that the native population of the Yellowknife area have been questioning for some time the fact that the fishes have been disappearing from Yellowknife Bay. Also there were questions raised because of sickness among the people in the village area. There was no public outcry at that time. The native population suspected poisoning of the waters."

James WahShee and Wally Firth did not know when they spoke that the territorial government itself had also been in possession of the federal government report during all or most of the time that it was kept under wraps.

Ecology North, an association of concerned northerners, has been urging the Federal Government to do the kind of survey for which Jim WahShee and Wally Firth are calling for several years. Their president, Neil Cameron, has corresponded with Environment Canada and other government departments for some years.

On January 7, 1972, they wrote to the then-Minister of the Environment, Jack Davis, saying that "in 1970 an opportunity to study the significance of arsenic and other heavy metal accumulations in the environment of Yellowknife developed. Dr. David Trogger, associate professor of the Iowa State University was conducting ecological studies in the area. When he was contacted by several residents of Yellowknife with regard to this problem, he indicated that his colleagues at the university were using highly-sophisticated analytical methods for detecting heavy metals in environment samples, and would be interested in conducting preliminary analyses at the Ames Research Reactor at Iowa State University. There, the research was conducted by Dr. James J. O'Toole and his colleagues ... After a review of their findings, we have reached the following conclusions: there are serious implications to human health and welfare related to the amount and variety of heavy metal accumulation due to the gold-refining process at Yellowknife. These toxicants include not only arsenic and antimony originating in the ores but also mercury used in the refining process... We request that the Department of the Environment support a comprehensive evaluation of the environmental impact of the refining process on the human population and the wilderness environment in the Yellowknife area."

Two months later, Jack Davis replied by saying that since the matter was primarily a human health problem, Ecology North should take the matter up with the Minister of National Health and Welfare. That Department then said they had been keeping the matter under careful observation since 1966 and had plans for more detailed studies in the future. But nothing seems to have happened in the three years following that correspondence.

The Dogrib People of Old Town do not trade in gold at the local bank. But when it comes time to set their nets in Yellowknife Bay this spring, it is they who will be paying the price of gold.

FROM FOREIGN CAPITALS:

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION SELECTS TASK FORCES

Washington, D.C. — The American Indian Policy Review Commission [AIPRC] met on June 13 to select 15 members for five task forces, created two additional task forces, and responded to the recent complaint filed by the National Tribal Chairmen's Association [NTCA] which seeks to stop the work of the 11-member body at the one-fifth mark of its 2½ year lifespan.

The new once-in-a-generation commission was created by the U.S. Congress to conduct a comprehensive review of the conduct of the U.S. Government in Indian Affairs. The Commission expects to undertake a coherent investigation of the many problems and issues affecting the way the U.S. Government relates to native people, and to establish goals and policies for legislation and administration.

A bill to create the new commission was introduced in July, 1973, by Senate Indian Affairs Subcommittee Chairman James Abourezk, South Dakota Democrat, who has since been named chairman of the Commission. It created the first top-level blue-ribbon investigative commission in Indian affairs since the noted investigation of the Institute for Government Research in 1926, which produced the famed Meriam Report of 1928, which ushered in the Indian New Deal of the 1930s.

In addition to Abourezk, the Senate president pro-tem appointed Lee Metcalf, Montana Democrat, and Mark Hatfield, Oregon Republican. House Speaker Carl Albert appointed representatives Lloyd Meeds, Washington Democrat; Sidney Yates, Illinois Democrat; and Sam Steiger, Arizona Republican. Yates is the new chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

They in turn met to elect Abourezk as chairman and Meeds as vice-chairman, and named five "Indian members" — three were to be from federally recognized tribes, one representing urban Indians, and one from a non-federally recognized tribe. Named were Ada Deer, Menominee; Jake White Crow, an Oklahoma Quapaw; John Borbridge, an Alaska Tlingit; Louis Bruce, former commissioner of Indian Affairs, of Mohawk-Sioux descent from New York State; and Adolph Dial, a North Carolina Lumbee.

These eleven persons then appointed a staff, naming Ernie Stevens as director and Kirke Kickingbird as general counsel. The Commission is now naming nine task forces, which will likely be funded in July to begin hearings and studies.

In addition to Stevens and Kickingbird, a third staff member was added in June. He is Max Richtman, a 28-year-old German-born attorney who worked as a legislative assistant for Rep. Yates since 1973. AIPRC is now looking for an Indian historian to present an overview of the Indian relationship with the U.S. Government in documented form, drawing from the separate histories recorded by each task force.

The Commission members expressed hope at their swearing-in on May 2 that it will help begin a new era in Indian/government relations.

A Selection Committee composed of Meeds, Louis Bruce and Adolph Dial nominated Task Force members. The final list as selected by the full Committee were:

Trust Responsibility & Federal-Indian Relationships, including Treaty Review: Hank Adams, Assiniboine Sioux, writer, lobbyist, consultant, chairman; John Echohawk, Pawnee, currently with the Native American Rights Fund; Doug Nash, Nez Perce.

Tribal Government: Wilbur Atcitty, Navajo, chairman; Alan Parker, Chippewa/Cree; Jerry Flute, Sisseton-Wahpeton.

Federal Administration and Structure of Indian Affairs (including review of BIA): Sam Deloria, Standing Rock Sioux, executive director of the American Indian Law Center of the University of New Mexico, chairman; Ray Goetting, Caddo, a business management consultant; Mel Tonasket, Colville, president of the National Congress of American Indians, tribal councilman.

Federal, State and Tribal Jurisdiction: Sherman Broadhead, consultant to the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, and former staff assistant to Senator Abourezk, chairman; William Rhodes, Pima, chief tribal judge of the Gila River Indian Community in Arizona; Frank Tenorio, San Idelfonso Pueblo.

Indian Education: Helen Schierbeck, Lumbee, chairwoman, prominent Indian education specialist; Earl Barlow, Blackfeet, superintendent of schools on the Blackfeet Reservation; Abe Plummer, Navajo, executive director of the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, Inc.

Indian Law Revision: Peter Taylor, chairman, co-director of the Indian Civil Rights Task Force in the Department of Interior; Yvonne Knight, Ponca, Native American Rights Fund staff attorney; Browning Pipestem, Otoe/Missouri/Osage, tribal councilman and attorney.

Indian Health: Dr. Everett Rhoades (Kiowa), chairman; Luana Reyes (Colville), Lilly McGarvey (Aleut).

Reservation Development: Peter MacDonald (Navajo), chairman; Ken Smith (Warm Springs), Phillip Martin (Mississippi Choctaw).

Urban & Rural Non-Reservation Indians: Al Elgin (Pomo), chairman; Gail Thorpe (Sac & Fox), Ed Mouss (Creek).

— Ted Hetzel photo

Ernie Stevens, Oneida . . . Director, AIPRC

Terminated and Non-federally Recognized Tribes: JoJo Hunt (Lumbee), chairwoman; R. Bojorcas (Klamath), John Stevens (Passamaquoddy).

Alcoholism & Drug Abuse: Reuben Snake (Winnebago), chairman; George Hawkins (Southern Cheyenne), Robert Moore (Seneca).

The Commission also has the power to create other task forces assigned to other topics. Each task force will be required to make quarterly progress reports. Members will be salaried, and each task force will have staff personnel. There is a one-year deadline to complete its work, together with specific recommendations in the selected area. Task forces do not have powers of subpoena.

Two additional task forces were created. The urban and non-reservation concerns were split into a separate group from the terminated and non-federally recognized group. The Alcohol and Drug Abuse Task Force was created as the result of pressure from alcohol and drug abuse programs throughout the U.S.

"Alcohol and drug abuse have contributed to the detriment of virtually every Indian family throughout the country, not only as a health problem but as an inhibitive force in socio-economic wellbeing," the Commission noted in adopting the added Task Force.

The heavy legal nature of the subject matter resulted in the selection of six attorneys, two tribal councilmen, and one chief tribal judge.

Abourezk said the Commission "is designed to find out what went wrong with American Indian policy and what should be done to correct it. So far as I am concerned, there is a lot wrong. . .we have wasted money without results, humiliated proud people, and have generally put together a sorry record." Abourezk is of Lebanese ancestry, but was born and raised at Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota where his father had built his business from that of a peddler to a small grocery store.

The Commission will have $2.5-million to do its work. When it finishes the job in 1977, it will submit its final report with recommendations for legislation going then to the appropriate Congressional committees.

Selection of the native Commission members was bound to be controversial. Some felt that again the traditional people had been cut out. Some said the bias was toward the non-federal Eastern seaboard people. Resolutions objecting to the selections were passed by the 19 Indian Pueblos of New Mexico, the United Southeastern Tribes, and individual tribal groups. Nominations solicited from reservation people, the National Tribal Chairmen's Association and the National Congress of American Indians were, opponents charged, overlooked.

The National Tribal Chairmen's Association which had been a creation of the Nixon Administration bitterly opposed the selection of the Commissioners since its recommendations had been passed over. It filed suit on May 20 in U.S. District Court in the District of Columbia asking for an injunction halting the operation of the Commission on the grounds that the Indian members appointed "do not truly represent the interests of a majority of American Indian tribes." NTCA also said the Indian appointments were unconstitutional, since Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution does not authorize other Congressmen to appoint officers of the U.S.

Wendell Chino, NTCA president, said the suit was a necessary step to "protect the interests of the federally recognized land-based Indian tribes. He attacked the appointment of John Borbridge, Jr., claiming that the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska had been terminated by the Alaska Native Lands Claims Settlement Act.

Borbridge wrote Chino that Indians have come to expect their status to be questioned, but "we do not expect such challenges to come from other Indians who ought to realize that their interests are allied with ours. Indeed, it strikes me as an ironic turn of events when you, purporting to speak for an Indian organization, insist that the Tlingit and Haidas are, in effect, terminated while a United States Senator rightly contends that the Tlingit and Haidas are not, in fact, terminated."

Borbridge said he had questioned twelve chairmen who are members of the NTCA and not one of them had agreed to have the organization file the suit. In fact, he said, they had not even been asked.

[Thanks to Richard LaCourse and Suzan Shown Harjo of the American Indian Press Association news services for this information.]

RESERVATION CATTLE INDUSTRY SET BACK BY BLIZZARDS, STORMS

Washington, D.C. — A report detailing the "grave condition of the reservation cattle industry in the Dakotas" was presented to the Department of Agriculture in June by the National American Indian Cattlemen's Association. The report cites $22-million in livestock losses suffered by native cattle operators as a result of a January blizzard, an "absolutely unprecedented series of spring storms in the Upper Great Plains," and the semi-drought condition of the past two years that has cost some operators as much as 50% of their calves and 50% of their breeding stock.

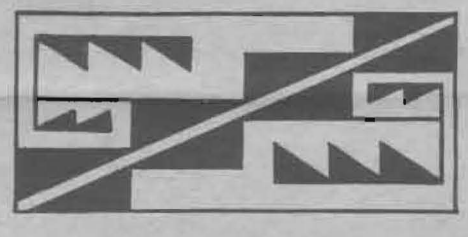
According to NAICA, the raising of cattle on reservations by native people is the single largest source of privately-generated income for reservation families, and the best-established area of the reservation economy.

Presently, native people raise about two million cattle, worth about $200-million annually in sale value at cattle auctions. However, cattle raising is increasingly risky and competititve amid market price drops, soaring costs of feed and gasoline, and control of the industry by large multinational corporations.

At a NAICA annual convention in Albuquerque last March, Dr. Eugene Ross of the New Mexico State University at Las Cruces told native cattlemen that the seventeen land-grant universities across the United States were empowered to create "informal educational programs by, with, and for the Indian people" which were related to agricultural and mechanical trades. Indians have an open door to any land grant university in seventeen states."

Native cattlemen are particularly vulnerable to weather because their cattle are on the prairie, not in pens.

"We're tired of hammering out a living while the Government pours money into new ventures," NAICA president John Fredericks told Agriculture's Deputy under-secretary Richard Ashworth and other government officials in a meeting in Washington. "This is an existing enterprise on the reservations. We need some



money in our direction." He said they were not looking for handouts, but they did not have access to credit like other ranchers.

[Thanks to Suzan Shown Harjo and the American Indian Press Association's Washington News Service for this information.]

THE WELL STILL HASN'T RUN DRY; ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT $$ FLOW

Washington, D.C. — Economic Development grants are big business in themselves for some tribal governments, keeping their establishment secure and strong. Although accountability for results is seldom called for, the Department of Commerce funds continue to flow. Some good results have been seen however, and it is up to each group of native people to check into their own local situation. Grants made in 1975 include:

Uintah & Ourays, Fort Duchesne, Utah : $17,500 to pay administrative costs of a staff planning long-term growth, including an expansion of Bottle Hollow Resort, and a comprehensive water system.

Southern Ute, Ignacio, Colorado — $26,500 to conduct a study to determine the feasibility of a recreation/tourism complex in the Chimney Rock/Lake Capote area of the reservation.

Shoshone & Arapahoe, Wind River, Wyoming — $25,000 to continue planning for economic growth via a professional staff, especially tourism.

American Indian Travel Commission, Inc., Lakewood, Colorado — $266,425 to continue a program of management and technical assistance for Indian tribes engaged in recreation/tourism businesses, the foundation of overall economic development programs on many reservations.

Seminoles, Hollywood, Florida — $101,000 to establish catfish-rearing ponds and related facilities on the Brighton Reservation.

Shoshone-Bannock, Fort Hall, Idaho — $50,000 to study feasibility of establishing a tribal farming enterprise.

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, Belcourt, North Dakota — $100,000 to stimulate long-range industrial growth and create jobs through renovation of a tribally-owned warehouse for use as a skill-training center by Clark Equipment Company.

Umatilla, Pendleton, Oregon — $25.300 to help conduct a study to determine the feasibility of establishing a tribal agricultural business.

Colville, Nespelem, Washington — $216,500 to help stimulate economic growth by construction of a community center building to serve as headquarters for community planning.

Rosebud Sioux, South Dakota — $135,000 to help carry out an irrigation project and stimulate long-range economic growth, part of an expansion program for the tribally-owned beef herd from 250 head to 3,000.

South Dakota State Indian Business Development Organization, Pieree, S.D. — $206,517 to provide technical and management assistance to existing businesses and performing research and planning to establish new agri-industrial enterprises.

Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico — $158,000 to build an arts and crafts center to provide space to display and sell Indian pottery and weaving.

Cochiti Pue lo, New Mexico — $352,000 to construct a multi-purpose community center to house the governor's office, administrative units, and for adult classes.

Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico — $152,000 to construct a community center for job-training facilities, and to expand the Holy Ghost Fishing Area.

Quileute, LaPush, Washington — $197,000 to stimulate diversified long-range economic growth and to create jobs by installing a sewer system. The tribe will provide $1,183,400 of the total cost.

Tesuque Pueblo, New Mexico — $102,000 to prepare for orderly long-range economic growth by building a multi-purpose community center building for central services and vocational education.

Great Lakes Inter-tribal Council, Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin — $100,000 to plan for long-range economic growth to create jobs at Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Mole Lake, Oneida, Potawatomi, Red Cliff, St. Croix, Stockbridge-Munsee and Winnebago.

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, North Dakota — $709,000 to stimulate economic growth by building sewer and water improvements.

Florida — $192,000 to construct a library building adjacent to the community center.

Standing Rock Reservation, Fort Yates, North Dakota — $136,800 to pave and extend streets and drainage facilities in the City of Fort Yates, an independent municipality.

San Felipe Pueblo, New Mexico — $165,000 to enlarge the pueblo's community center "as a focal point for strengthening historical and cultural interest among residents of the pueblo."

— Seer's Catalog

White Earth Reservation, Minnesota — $359,000 to establish a cattle-raising enterprise to provide employment.

Bay Mills Reservation, Michigan — $393,000 to construct a fish-processing plant equipped with freezer, cooler, ice-maker.

Hopi Reservation, Arizona — $504,000 to construct access roads to Shipaulovi, Mishungnovi, and to restore Walpi Village. Increased tourism should result.

Seminole Nation of Oklahoma — $395,000 to develop Mekusukey Mission and Academy site with a community and cultural center serving as Council House, museum & workshop.

Standing Rock Reservation, South Dakota — $332,000 to construct a warehouse and office at McLaughlin for the Standing Rock Housing Corporation, a manufacturer of modular homes.

Sac and Fox Tribe, Oklahoma — $394,000 to develop a recreational vehicle park on tribal trust land south of Stroud near an amusement park. It will include a "Powwow pavillion.

Kalispel Reservation, Usk, Washington — $155,000 to develop 250 acres of farm and ranch land along the eastern shore of the Pend Oreille River, including a dike, fencing, hay sheds, and a water-sprinkler system.

Seminole Tribe of Florida — $51,000 to build a swimming pool adjacent to the reservation community center at Brighton.

Saginaw Chippewa at Mt. Pleasant, Michigan — $4,000 to develop a recreation-tourism-tribal center, including 45 trailer sites, and overnight campgrounds.

Keweenaw Bay Reservation, Michigan — $427,000 to expand the present 40-trailer recreation complex, dredge a marina basin, and construct boating facilities.

Potawatomi Tribe, Oklahoma — $305,000 to construct a tribal office and cultural center.

Passamaquoddy/Penobscot Tribal Planning Board, Maine — $37,000 to continue a program of planning for long-range economic growth, paying the cost of a professional staff.

St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, New York — $35,000 to continue payments to a professional planning staff.

Nisqually Reservation, Washington — $12,000 to determine the feasibility of establishing a fish-net manufacturing and repair plant on the reservation.

Cherokee Reservation, North Carolina — $137,500 to construct a community center at Snowbird.

Hannaville Indian Community, Michigan — $127,000 to establish a hogfarm.

Moapa Band of Oaiutes, Nevada — $228,000 to create jobs by construction of a community center.

Tigua, El Paso, Texas — $140,000 to stimulate tourist industry and jobs by renovating a stagecoach stop for an arts and crafts center.

Lummi, Marietta, Washington — $11,600 for administrative costs of its economic development planning staff through June 30.

Nambe Pueblo, New Mexico — $150,000 to stimulate economic growth by construction of a 3,000-square-foot addition to a community center for job-training for tourism improvements.

Quinault, Tahola, Washington — $250,000 to construct a community center in village of Queets.

Umatilla, Pendleton, Oregon — $394,000 to develop recreation area at Indian Lake, including water and sewer lines, the first phase of a long-range program to establish a major recreation and tourism industry.

Trendon, North Dakota — $270,000 for a community center to house the Fort Buford Indian Development Corporation, and other tenants, including the BIA.

Yavapai, Arizona — $225,000 to complete a commercial park to encourage businesses to establish on the reservation.

Navajo, New Mexico — $835,000 to help establish a farming operation by constructing buildings for headquarters of the Navajo Irrigation Project.

Pine Ridge, South Dakota — $500,000 to build a new rodeo and pow-wow fairgrounds, including construction of a grandstand, and to pave the streets of Pine Ridge, in order to attract industry and tourists to the reservation.

Northern Cheyenne, Lame Deer, Montana — $550,000 for additions to the tribal office and industrial complex for tribal leaders conducting development programs.

Tuolumne Rancheria, California — $133,000 for a tribal community center for offices and recreational facilities.

Omaha, Macy, Nebraska — $576,000 to build a community center for tribal offices and job-training classes, including a garage and maintenance area.

Duck Valley Shoshone-Paiute, Nevada — $200,000 to improve and expand tourist facilities at the Sheep Creek Reservoir as a means of attracting sport fishermen and overnight campers.

Shoshone-Bannock, Fort Hall, Idaho — $416,000 to improve livestock growing and marketing; development of water and sewer systems.

The Department of Commerce has poured over $200-million into native economic growth since 1965, claiming that it has created 11,000 permanent new jobs as a result. Also, there have been 42 Indian industrial parks, although many of them are still vacant. 41 Indian tourism-recreation projects including 15 motel complexes and 15 Indian campgrounds have been created. 63 Indian multi-purpose buildings have been built and 5 horticulture/aquaculture projects. A total of 140 professional planners have been employed through the program. The EDA says that $166-million of the total has gone to construct public facilities needed to attract industry. Little research has been done to check on the results of these expeuditures.

INTER-TRIBAL COOPERATIVE VENTURES EXCITE NATIVE DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR; SELF-SUFFICIENCY A GOAL

Washington, D.C. — Native business leaders discussed here ways to mix successful economic enterprises with human aspirations and development in a seminar sponsored by the National Congress of American Indians [NCAI] in Oklahoma City June 11-14.

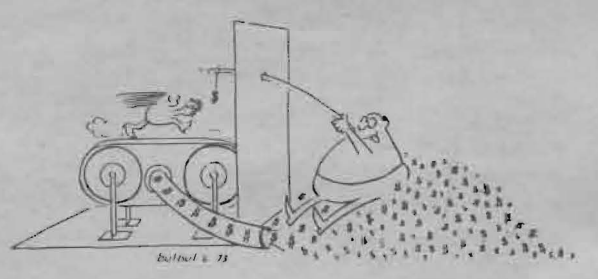
Some delegates told how their tribal plans concentrated on inexhaustible resources such as fish or timber or agriculture, which, if well managed, can be used for generations.

Self-sufficiency — the ability to maintain the tribal group on the basis of the reservation economy — was also raised repeatedly as a goal of Indian business.

One phenomenon pointed out by several Northwest tribes was the fact that at present, the benefits accrued from reservation businesses often do not circulate for the benefit of the tribe. When wages are earned at a sawmill or a canning factory, the wages are immediately spent in non-Indian stores to buy food, clothing, and other necessities. In order to develop a circular economy, some leaders suggested that a native working in a tribal business could then buy food from a reservation store or have services performed in a reservation-owned gas station.

One of the most exciting programs presented was an explanation of the cooperative ventures of the Lummi, Squaxin Island and Skokomish Tribes of Washington. Under their arrangement, the Lummis raise salmon in their hatchery up to fingerling size. They then sell the fingerlings to Squaxin Island where the fish are placed in large aquaculture pens and grown to pan-size. The mature fish are then sold to the Skokomish Tribe, which operates a processing and packaging plant. Then after the fish are prepared for market, the Skokomish turn the product back to the Lummis for marketing.

Through this system, small tribes are able to engage in large enterprises without surrendering their autonomy, and each one performs the services best suited to them.



Two federal agencies drew criticism from Indian participants — the Small Business Administration was scored for its lack of involvement in native programs, and the Office of Minority Business Enterprise failed to even send a representative to the meetings.

[Thanks to Bruce Davies and the American Indian Press Association Washington News Service for this information.]

SUBMARGINAL LANDS BILL UNDER CONSIDERATION IN CONGRESS

Washington, D.C. — A total of 17 tribes stand to gain a total of 398,899 acres of so-called submarginal lands adjacent to or near their reservations under the terms of House and Senate bills presently before the 94th Congress.

Purpose of the two bills, HR 5778 and S1327 is to transfer all surface and subsurface interests of lands purchased by the U.S. during the Great Depression of the 1930s when both droughts and floods struck the lands and non-Indian farmers could not make a living. The farmers were paid off, with the idea that the lands would be restored to the reservations from which they had come in the first place.

However, Congress has failed to act since the 1930s in actually making the legal transfer to native control. Over the years, some have developed valuable timber stands, or have become strategic locations for tribal economic development, or minerals have been discovered on them.

Persons favoring return of these lands can request their congressmen and senators to expedite passage of the bills. These are the lands involved:

Great Lakes: Lac Courte Oreille Chippewa of Wisconsin: 13,185 acres in Sawyer County. Bad River Chippewa of Wisconsin: 13,069 in Ashland and Iron Counties. White Earth Minnesota Chippewa: 28,450 acres in Mahnomen and Becker Counties. Keweenaw Bay Indian Community in Michigan: 4,016 acres in Baraga County to increase L'Anse Reservation.

Northern Plains: Standing Rock Sioux: 10,964 acres in Sioux and Corson Counties. Oglala Sioux: 46,213 acres in Bennett, Shannon, Washabaugh and Washington counties. Rosebud Sioux: 28,713 acres in Todd County. Lower Brule Sioux: 14,290 in Stanley and Lyman Counties. Cheyenne River Sioux: 5110 acres in Dewey County. Crow Creek Sioux: 19,627 acres in Hughes, Hyde and Buffalo Counties. Devil's Lake Sioux: 1,424 acres in Benson County, North Dakota. The Fort Belknap Indian Community: 25,530 acres in Blaine and Phillips Counties, Montana. Fort Peck Reservation: 85,338 mineral-rich acres in Roosevelt and Valley Counties, Montana. Blackfeet Reservation: 9,037 acres in Glacier and Pondera Counties, Montana.

Central Plains — Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma: 18,738 acres in Delaware and Adair Counties.

Northwest — Shoshone-Bannock Tribes at Fort Hall, Idaho: 8,711 acres in Bannock, Bingham, and Power Counties.

Southwest — Navajo Nation: 72,267 acres in Gallup-Two Wells District of McKinley County.

[Thanks to Richard LaCourse and the Albuquerque News Service of the American Indian Press Association.]

California

PIT RIVER LOSES ANOTHER ROUND BUT STILL FIGHTING LAND BATTLES

Burney, California – The Pit River Nation of Northern California lost a round in its long battle to regain stolen lands when the U.S. Supreme Court this winter denied a petition for review of the Pit River case. Undaunted, however, the Pit River people have launched a new legal round appealing three "criminal" cases which have arisen in their dispute with local, state, and federal officials – and occasionally people of their own heritage in establishment positions.

In one of the cases, "The Christmas Tree Caper", the U.S. Government filed charges of theft of government property against three Pit River people for cutting Christmas trees on land which the U.S. has admitted unlawfully taking from the Pit River Nation. Over 500,000 Christmas trees are commercially cut under Forest Service permit each year by private interests.

In the Prospect Peak Case, Pit River activists had attempted to stop the logging of virgin timber on its land. The U.S. Forest Service countered by issuing an order closing the area to everyone except those who were logging or removing the trees. Three persons were charged with trespass for violating the closure order. The facts of the Sugar Loaf Mountain Case in December, 1973, are roughly the same – six native persons are charged in that incident.

Sentences issued to the defendants were maximum and savage – one year on the "theft of Christmas trees," six months on the trespass, and for the two young persons under 18 involved, up to six years under the Youth Act. The sentences were issued by Judge Manuel Real.

The Pit River Nation has been ardently defended by attorney Aubrey Grossman. "What the Government is trying to do is throw the fear of God into the Pit River Tribe," Grossman believes. "The result is the exact opposite of what the Government intends."

The struggle involves nearly three-million acres of land, most of it being held by the U.S. or such major corporations as Pacific Gas and Electric, Southern Pacific Railroad, the Hearst Corporation, and the Los Angeles Times.

The land was taken after the Gold Rush by miners, prospectors, soldiers, missionaries, pioneers and adventurers. The title was assumed by the U.S. Government, who in turn gave vast portions of it to railways to encourage construction of rail lines. They in turn gave it or sold it to major financial interests. The process by which this happened is not at all in controversy – but whether the U.S. will return land which it got illegally is the major issue.

According to the U.S., claims by all California Indians were settled by a compromise agreement between the U.S. Department of Justice and the 22 attorneys working for the various tribes. In that agreement, 47 cents an acre was approved as payment for the major part of the state of California.

At the time of the Sugar Loaf Mountain arrests, all of this was before the U.S. Supreme Court. Pit River people took the position that the area contained one of the last stands of virgin timber, and that was threatened by a contract issued by the U.S. Forest Service to the Los Angeles Times for logging by helicopter. The native position was that such logging should be held in abeyance – it didn't want to fight for the return of land only to get it back in devastated condition.

In negotiations before the attempt to block the work, the Forest Service said it was up to the loggers, and the loggers said they couldn't talk – it was a Forest Service problem. At first, pickets were set up, and the U.S. responded by surrounding the marchers with armed U.S. Marshals. "If we have to be shot, we will be," tribal chairman Ros' Montgomery said at that time. "But we'd rather talk." They asked then-president Richard Nixon to send a responsible official for talks about the logging on land taken "without treaty, without consent, without payment, and in violation of law."

In addition to the court actions, the Pit River people are turning an eye to the international scene. California came into the U.S. as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo 1848 signed with Mexico. Article III of the treaty says that "inhabitants of the ceded territory . . . shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion they profess." The hope is that the current Mexican Government will use its position in the UN and elsewhere to get justice for the Pit River claim.

U.S. FOREST SERVICE ROAD WOULD VIOLATE SACRED MEDICINE GROUNDS; WILDERNESS AREA TO BE DESTROYED TO "PROVIDE JOBS"

Arcata, California – The U.S. Forest Service has proceeded to build a road through sacred medicine grounds of the Karuk, Tolowa, and Yurok peoples near here, despite pleas to officials and senators to halt the project.

The Eight-Mile Blue Creek road in the Six Rivers National Forest in the Humboldt-Del Norte counties area of northern California has long been regarded as a "power center", frequently visited by qualified religious leaders and medicine people. Old foot trails lead to Chimney Rock, Doctor Rock, Summit Valley, Small Spirit Lake, and other special places.

The Forest Service has countered native protests on the Gasquet-Orleans road by saying the road will "improve access" to the medicine areas, although Bobby Lake, coordinator of ethnic studies at Humboldt State College says part of the practice of religious leaders who utilize the sacred grounds necessitates walking in. The Forest Service also says native people will be hired to work on the road, thus creating jobs, presumably native people who no longer follow their traditional ways.

Lake has called for the designation of the area as a "wilderness area" in Forest Service terms, which would leave it unspoiled. Otherwise, the road will open up the area to logging, recreation, and business ventures.

A Humboldt county newspaper, *The Times-Standard*, has pushed for the road, saying editorially "it would provide a needed boost to our sagging economy, creating many new jobs." It adds that it has "never agreed with the sentimentalists who want to bar our forest lands from economic use in order to preserve them in a primeval state – timber which cannot be harvested does no one any good." The editorial claimed that Indians would benefit economically from the project. "Indians, like anyone else, have to eat. We suspect that most, if given the choice between religious abstractions and money in the pocket, will opt for the latter."

Construction on the project has been going off and on for 15 years from either end. Approximately $14-million has been spent to date in construction, but there is 13 miles left undone in the center. In addition to native opposition, the Sierra Club also is pressing for a greatly-expanded Siskiyou Wilderness Area which would protect the sacred grounds.

Letters of support are solicited and should be sent to Robert O. Lake, Jr., Coordinator of Ethnic Studies, Humboldt State University, Arcata, California 95520.

SEVERE PROBLEMS FOR LOS ANGELES NATIVES CREATE NEED FOR AGENCY

Los Angeles, California – There are so many Indians in this city now – some say as many as 60,000 – and their problems are so severe that native persons working in community agencies have called for the formation of an "L.A. Area Indian Commission".

Meeting with the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission for two days of hearings in late May, about twenty persons testified that the commission would serve as a base for action to improve services for the native population, as well as serving as a means of communication among the scattered native residents.

Wee Cie Ford, director of the South Bay Indian Services Center in Long Beach said her main problem in convincing officials to fund her antipoverty program was "proving that there were Indians there." She, like other witnesses, cited statistics to illustrate the health, employment, housing, and educational problems of native people who have moved to the big city.

Alcoholism is such a serious problem for urban native people that they are 50 times more likely than non-Indians to lose their job because of it, the hearing was told.

[Thanks to Frank Del Olmo of the Los Angeles Times for this information.]

APPEALS COURT CONFIRMS NATIVE RIGHT TO FISH IN CALIFORNIA

San Francisco, California – The U.S. Court of Appeals here ruled in June that Yurok people of the Klamath River Reservation have the right to fish for salmon on their reservation without interference by California state game wardens. The decision was the latest development in a complicated legal dispute over Indian fishing rights which never seems to die away and which goes on in virtually every state.

This case started in 1969 when California wardens seized five gill nets belonging to Raymond Mattz of Crescent City. He tried to get his nets back, unsuccessfully. The state courts ruled that the Klamath River reservation where he fished had been terminated by Congress in 1892.

In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the old Klamath River reservation, created in 1855, had never been terminated, but rather had been incorporated in the Hoopa Valley Reservation and was still "Indian Country" under federal, rather than state, law. The Supreme Court sent the case back to the Del Norte County Superior Court with instructions to determine what fishing rights belonged to the Indians of the lower Klamath.

That's what Judge Frank Petersen of Crescent City did in 1974 when he ruled that the State Fish and Game Department did not have a right to interfere with Indian fishing on the reservation. That ruling was also appealed by the state. Now Justice Brown of the Court of Appeals has again slapped the state back, noting that "the Indians have been gill-netting for subsistence for over a century." The state must make every other possible means of conservation before it can make inroads on Indian rights.

"They Took Our Land, And Now They Want Our Bones"

"They are now running their plows through graveyards, turning up the bones and ashes of our sacred dead, whose spirits are calling to us for vengeance on the despoilers. Are we to stand by and suffer this sacrilege to be continued? The Great Spirit whispers in my ear, NO!"

Black Hawk, Sauk, 1832

Watsonville, California — Ohlone Nation people agreed to pay a local industrialist $17,000 "ransom" in late March in order to prevent their cemetery from being dug up by archeologists and souvenir hunters.

Earlier, the Ohlones had turned the site into an armed camp in order to prevent nightly raids on bones of their grandparents — burials had taken place in the cemetery within living memory.

In early March, construction workers building a warehouse for Aaron Berman uncovered human bones. They called the local anthropologist, Rob Edwards, an instructor at Cabrillo, who inspected the site, and pronounced it "an important find." He asked that work be halted — so that "scholars" could explore and collect. George Davis, the contractor, agreed.

Almost immediately, archeology students from Cabrillo and University of California at Santa Cruz, members of the Santa Cruz Archeological Society, and students and archeological society members from Santa Clara County converged on the site, seeking their share of bones of the 35 or so persons believed to be buried there.

Edwards explained that while it was a felony to disturb a cemetery, the contractor had already disturbed it. However, if he and his colleagues could gather up all the bones, it would no longer be a cemetery, and work could continue without violation of law, he said.

With great expertise, he told of the find: "It must be between 500 A.D. and 1300 A.D.," he said knowingly. "There were no arrowheads found, and arrows came in after 1300, so we know it's before that. Beads uncovered in initial digging place it after 500, because that was about when beads were introduced into the culture." He said he regarded the people highly — "the half-dozen pieces of their basketry that remains is of very high quality and with intricate design," he noted, obviously not thinking of their living descendants.

But when the Ohlone people heard what was going on, they demanded an immediate halt to the digging, and called for outside assistance. Victor Cutnose, director of the Northwest Indian Cemetery Association, reported ready to aid. He said his group was founded to preserve and protect native burial grounds and village and ceremonial sites, and that the organization had worked to get legislation passed to protect native rights in these matters.

Official digging did stop as county and state authorities pondered the matter. But at night, it was a different story. Ohlone observers said the persons they caught digging in the night-time were the same ones who had been there in the day before the stoppage. By March 14, the contractors had started work again, compounding the native anger.

Bones and skulls were strewn about the gravesite as the night prowlers made off with their bounty of bones in large plastic bags. Local authorities would not act. University archeologists had gone back on a promise to return the bones they had taken. And yet when the Ohlone people came to the cemetery to inspect it or to protect it, they were told by a construction foreman to get out — "no trespassing" signs were posted around the property.

"The Indians can do anything they want that's within their rights," owner Berman said. "But we have our rights too. We're going to keep on with the jobs unless they have more rights than anyone else." Berman said he had already shut down the job for four weeks, and that all the concessions made had been in favor of the Ohlone people. "No one gives a damn about our position. Pretty soon we're going to have to stand up for our rights," he declared.

Irene Avalos, an Ohlone leader, sought a temporary restraining order, since the local district attorney, George Kovacevich, said that as far as he could see, no criminal laws would be violated by construction of the warehouse on the gravesite. Kovacevich said there were no laws covering "ruining" of a gravesite by building on top of it.

Frank Marques, Mrs. Avalo's brother, said he had watched as a workman crushed a skull beneath his boot.

One woman told reporters that white people could hardly be expected to understand about respect for bones. "How can you expect white people to care about the graves of our ancestors, when they don't care about their own? Look at how they treat their old people — they shut them up in those homes. Indians keep their old people in the community. They are wise — we learn from them."

Meanwhile, native people called to the scene kept arriving in larger numbers — Sioux, Cheyenne, Hopi, Yaqui. A protest camp was set up at the burial site, and on March 17, entrances to the warehouse building site were blocked with automobiles. "Stay out. This means you. Proceed at your own risk!" read signs they had posted. A sacred fire had been kindled to reconsecrate the ground, and the guards at the encampment said it would burn continuously until all the bones had been reburied.

Step by step, the scene escalated. Police cars started to gather at the entrance. Indian people let it be known they had a rifle. More police. More guns appeared. By March 19, Santa Cruz County Sheriff Al Noren sealed off the area because he was "concerned for the public safety."

American Indian Movement spokesman George Martin said "we're prepared to die for one and a half acres."

Noren told the press, "Local Indians are no longer in control of the situation."

The Ohlones had the aid of several groups, in addition to the Northwest Cemetery Association and the American Indian Movement. With them were the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW/WSO), a Cabrillo College Chicano group, and students from several colleges. However, a district attorney at the site, Chris Cottle, said that the local Ohlones "ran the show entirely" during the negotiations and that outsiders were not involved. However, FBI agents were at the scene to advise local police.

"I was reasonably surprised with the lack of damage that was done," Robert Skemp, Berman's lawyer said after an inspection of the construction site. "They seemingly extended the courtesy to Mr. Berman of not damaging his property." About all that had to be done was to haul some of the one-ton beams back to their proper site for installation — they had been used to construct the barricades.

The Ohlone Tribe became an independent corporate entity in June, 1971, after action by the American Indian Historical Society located nearly 200 descendants of the tribe to fight for another burial ground, this one in Fremont, California, and owned by a Catholic Church.

It's An Old European Custom

Last Autumn, to the south, Santa Barbara County's Chumash people protested planned developments on Vandenberg Air Force Base's Space and Missile Test Center near Lompoc. Members of the Central Coast Indian Council spoke out strongly then against digging up 80 or so cemeteries.

However, Larry Spanne, a member of the UCSB air survey team commissioned by the Air Force to satisfy environmental impact recommendations, said "that if the space shuttle program goes through, then the graves will probably be dug up."

— Sedition
Cemetery's defenders leave camp after settlement was reached at Ohlone Nation's grounds.

As Noren massed 50 riot-equipped men 500 yards from the Indian barricades, the native group established fortifications on the burial knoll made from scrap lumber, earthen mounds, bunkers, and slabs of broken concrete. Only a single paved road led into their camp, and there was low ground on all sides — it was a strategic position.

Noren was armed with a court order issued by Judge Harry Brauer in response to a petition from Berman, making the Indian presence on the land "illegal".

Ella Mae Rodriguez argued before Judge Brauer that removal of the bones would cause them to be in "eternal strife with our ancestors." She said removal of the bones was "one of the worst crimes." However, in making his ruling, Brauer pointed out the "overriding issue" is the constitutional right of a citizen to use his private property as he wished unless adequately compensated. He said that "the living have some rights too," and added that there "probably isn't a square mile of land in this state which doesn't contain the bones of some human." Brauer said "the civilized thing to do" would be for Berman to "cooperate with the Indians in the reverent reburial of all bones that are unearthed in the course of construction."

To break the deadlock, Berman offered to sell the land — for $34,000 for two acres. Recently, the U.S. paid off California Indians 47 cents an acre for land illegally taken by the U.S. While negotiators dickered on price and conditions, the stand-off between deputies and natives continued tensely.

Finally, negotiators emerged to say "it's been settled." Berman agreed to cut his price in half — two acres for $17,500 and the Ohlones would be given a year to raise the money. In return, they would not interfere with construction going on around the actual site, and they would not occupy the land until it was paid for. For Berman, obviously it was a business transaction.

Everyone seemed glad that the confrontation had ended without bloodshed. Irene Avalos was happy that she had protected her great-grandmother, who had been buried on the site in 1902. She said she would head up a drive to obtain the $17,000 — her address is 403 Santa Clara St., Watsonville, California.

One problem the Chumash won't ignore is the strong disagreement they have with archeologists. They are hoping a new understanding will develop so that buried bones and artifacts aren't thought of as just material for scientific study. "To us, it's our ancestors — to the archeologist, it's their hobby." Native people accuse archeologists of viewing Indians as something from the past, and therefore fit subjects for study.

A year ago, near San Simeon, Indian burial sites were dug up to make way for a new road. While the native protesters were unable to stop the road, they did get those remains which were uncovered so that they could rebury them, rather than to have them go to a university for study.

In Bishop, Shoshones there are locked in battle with the county's board of supervisors which wants to build an artificial lake — over Indian graves.

And then there is the example set by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. It has four Modoc skulls that descendants amongst the Klamath people want back. The Modoc Wars ended in the hanging of four men — Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim, and Boston Charlie, as they were nicknamed by the white soldiers — at Fort Klamath in 1873. Not satisfied, U.S. officials cut their heads off and shipped them to Washington. In 1904 they became part of the Smithsonian's "Peoples of the U.S." archeological study.

(Captain Jack's body was also desecrated — it was embalmed and put on display in a Washington, D.C., sideshow for ten cents a look.)

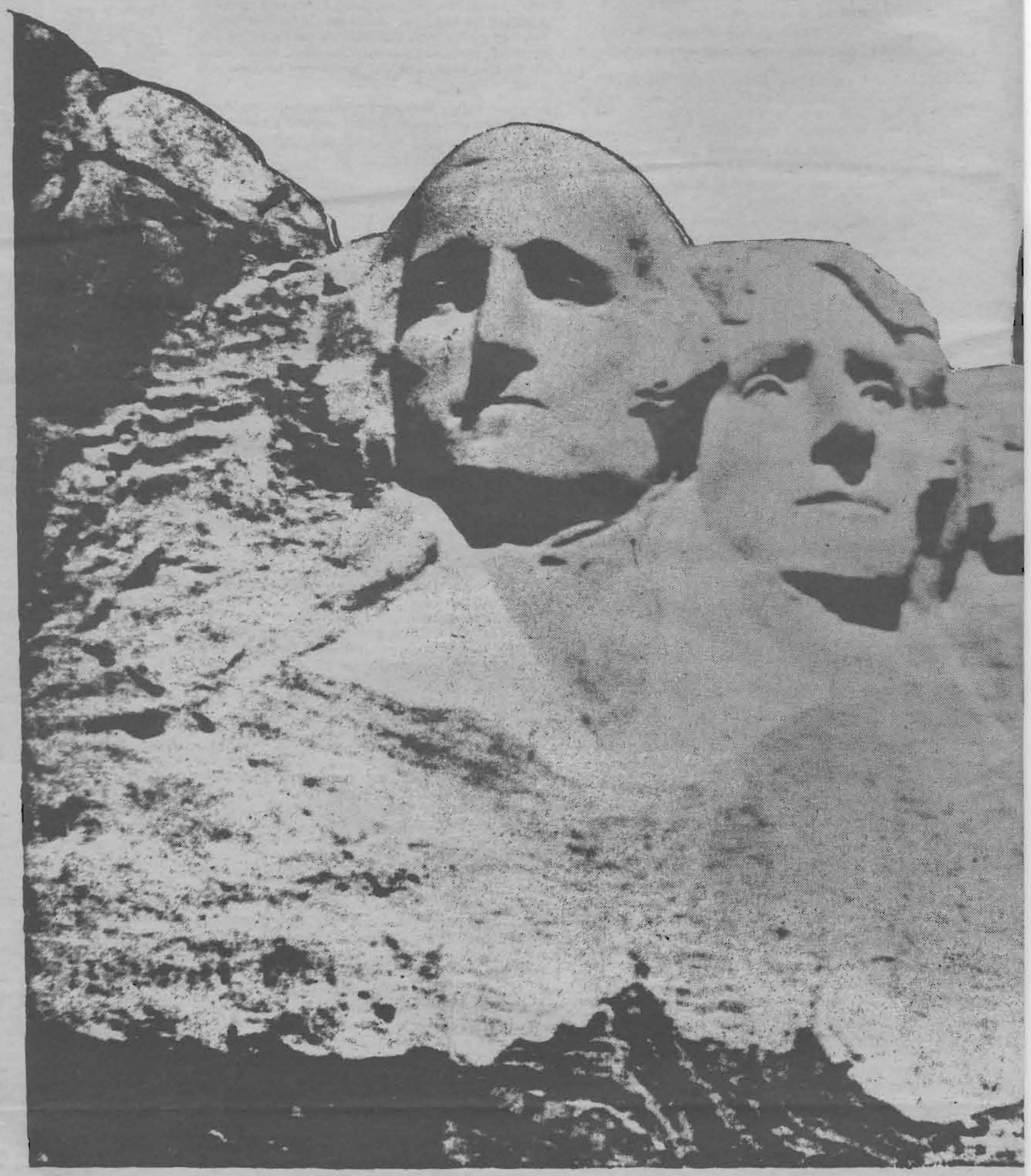
[Thanks to Associated Press, to Sue Stephenson, to The Detroit News, Santa Barbara News and Review, Sedition, Jim Cardin, Bill Akers of the Watsonville Register-Pajaronian and Marj Von B, Tom Honig of the Santa Cruz Sentinel, Larry Grooms of the Salinas Californian for information used here.]

[Persons involved in the legal end of preserving burial grounds and other sites of historic importance will be interested in an article by Paul E. Wilson and Elaine Oser Zingg in the Kansas Law Review, Spring, 1974: "What is America's Heritage?"]

the native american revolution bicentennial

1776 1976

200 Years of Resistance



"always remember - your f

This poster, entitled "Shrine of Hypocrisy" is of the U.S. Mount Rushmore Natio
monument is, were guaranteed to the Lakota People in the Fort Laramie Treaty
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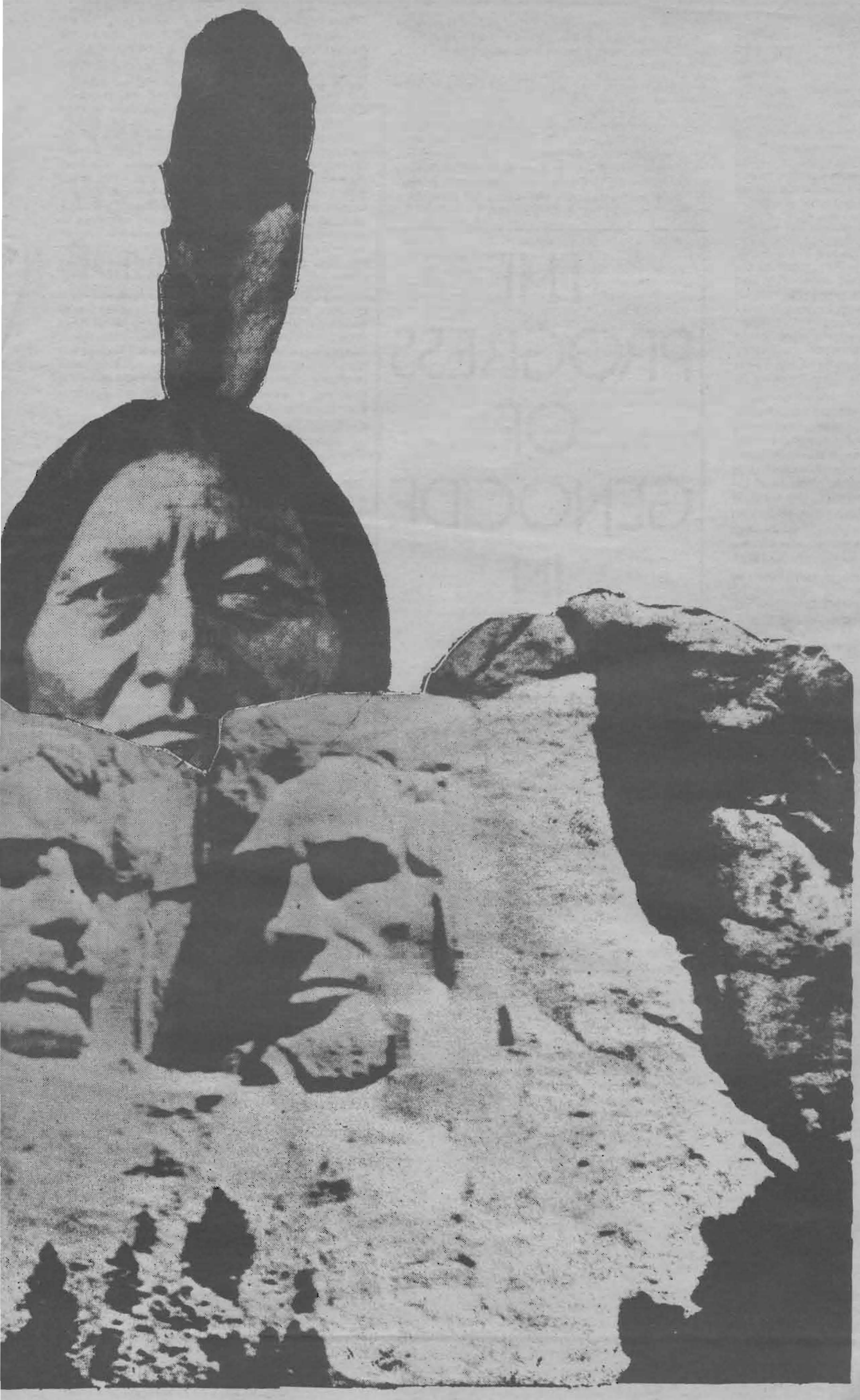

thers never sold this land"

Monument, joined by Sitting Bull surveying the scene. The Black Hills, where the
868 and as the quotation by Old Joseph (Chief Joseph's father) says, the land was
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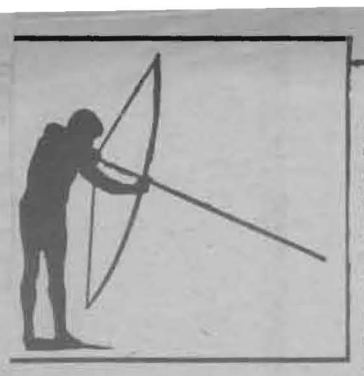
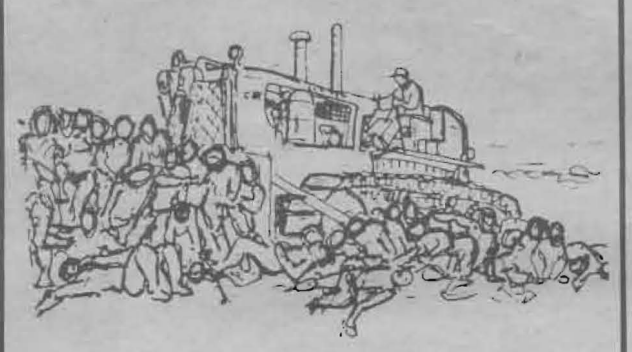


THE PROGRESS OF GENOCIDE IN BRAZIL



Rio de Janiero, Brazil – Despite government denials that there are problems with the native people in Brazil, continuing native resistance to encroachment on their lands and a declaration of support from Roman Catholic leaders underline the crucial struggle for survival that goes on still in 1975.

On July 5, the Roman Catholic bishops and missionaries from all over Brazil closed the general assembly of the church's Indian Missionary Council in the central city of Goiania with a program for action for the defense of Brazil's remaining Indians, estimated to have dwindled from millions of people to less than 100,000 – some say that by 1980, there will be none left.

Some experts who have surveyed the scene several times, like Switzerland's Rene Fuerst, say that already the correct population figure is down to 50,000. Fuerst says that what is happening is "extermination by neglect".

Gen. Ismarth de Araujo Oliviera accused the council of "being more interested in playing politics than helping the Indian." He said that when the council was having meetings to discuss Indian policy, it should invite his agency to be present. The missionaries counter that they had always reported the tragic situation of the native people first to the government, but when no action was taken, the criticisms were made public.

The missionary group had recently organized meetings of native leaders in order to have native nations form a common front to denounce abuses and fight for rights.

The Brazilian Government was also blasted in June by the country's leading independent newspaper, O Estado de Sao Paulo, which criticized FUNAI for not heeding criticism from qualified sources and "preferring to shut its eyes to the fate of ethnic groups that are disappearing because of the continuous invasion of their lands, the violation and disintegration of their culture and the contamination of the so-called civilized pioneers."

"FUNAI doesn't control anything," the Rev. Antonio Iasi of the Indian Missionary Council says. He had just completed a lengthy tour of native peoples in the states of Amazonas, Acre and Mato Grosso and the territory of Roraima near the Venezuelan border. He says the native people were "in a state of economic and moral abandon."

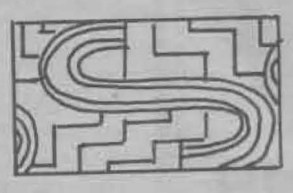
The country's most important civil engineering contractor said recently, "The Indians? There aren't any. It's all been exaggerated by the press." Actually, the press has basically ignored the matter. What is known as "the Indian problem" went unnoticed by the press until last year when the Waimari-Atroari of the northern Amazon killed the government's leading expert on native peoples.

The missionary council, perhaps oblivious to their own unwitting part in the pacification process, agreed to give "determined and efficient support" to Indians in their struggle to recover and retain their lands.

There have been increasing conflicts between native nations and large landholders as Brazil's development pushes west. The Government's "Indian Agency" [FUNAI] which was set up to protect the native population, has appeared powerless to defend even the officially-designated Indian reserves.

The missionary council which is attached to the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil, declared its support for the Indians' right to self-determination and preservation of their own culture. This right is contained in the official Indian Statute, but the Minister of Interior has declared that the Indians must be integrated into Brazil's national society as rapidly as possible.

Some priests who have fought on behalf of Indians have, in the past, been imprisoned. In southern Amazonia, a French priest, the Rev. Francois Jentel, was sentenced to ten years in prison on a charge of sedition after he fought for the rights of Indians and poor squatters. His bishop, Pedro Casaldáliga of the town of Sao Félix do Aráguaia, also defended against the invasion of large development companies, and was harassed by state security forces. Eight of his lay assistants were imprisoned, and four priests were detained and beaten.



The statement came at a time when the church and state organizations dealing with native peoples have nearly reached a breaking point, a repetition of the conflict that has historically accompanied the church/state/native triangle. FUNAI earlier in June had barred all the members of the church's Indian Missionary Council from visiting Indian areas except where established missions exist.

Several Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church signed a document entitled *Y-Juca-Pirama*, which in the Tupy language means "the one who must die." It presents a large amount of data on the situation of the Indians and concludes that the "Brazilian Indians are being exterminated." Besides providing the concrete evidence, the Bishops also produced an overall assessment of the reasons for this, saying the governmental policies are to be held responsible, and it cited the occupation of the Amazon by the big corporations.

The Bishops' document declared firm support, saying that not only should the native culture be preserved, but that Indian values "are examples for our own life – communal property as opposed to private ownership, production oriented to meet the needs of the people as a whole, social organization that guarantees the rights of all, educational processes in liberty, shared power rather than despotism, harmony with nature instead of ecological deterioration."

This document defending the Brazilian Indian was without precedent in the history of the country.

Bows And Arrows Against Helicopters

In a confrontation which has pitted bows and arrows against helicopters and Caterpillar tractors, the Waimiri-Atroari native people have put a halt – at least for the time being – to one section of Brazil's massive roadbuilding program which could lead to the destruction of the Amazon's land and life.

Officials of Brazil's National Indian Foundation – the equivalent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs – and soldiers and civilians building a road north from Manaus were evacuated in April because of increased attacks by what the press calls "war-like Indians".

A huge attack group rushed a construction camp and with arrows and clubs damaged giant earth-moving machines being used in construction of the road. Planes flying over the area are also being shot at with arrows.

Four expeditions sent in by the Brazilian Government to negotiate with the Wainiri-Atroaris were wiped out. The last expedition was led by Gilberto Pinto, 49, regarded as Brazil's "most experienced Indian expert."

"These Indians are very difficult," says Gen. Ismarth de Araujo, president of FUNAI, about the Waimiri-Atroari. "They continue to be distrustful. The highway is seen by them as a threat to the autonomy of their reservation."

The Waimiri-Atroari attacks show that they recognize the process that is being used to lead them to their extermination. First comes "pacification", psychologically disarming them with "presents" of material goods which Indians find useful, become dependent upon, and which can be obtained only from the whites. Just this contact – the shaking of hands with a white man – can mean epidemics of flu and measles causing many deaths. Then, the survivors are removed from their lands, or they are left there to wander and beg along the new highways that destroy their way of life, as well as their pride and integrity. In this way, the government has been able to keep its pledge – it doesn't use force against the Indians.

Orlando Villas Boas, one of the two well-known brothers whose work on behalf of Brazilian native people won them the nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize (which was awarded instead to Henry Kissinger), understands what is happening: "They kill because it is the only way they can stop the white man." Included in their packet of techniques used in their struggle is treachery – something they have learned by bitter experience from the "civilized ones."

The Ministry of the Interior said that it would continue its "constant concern for preserving the lands recognized as belonging to the Indians," a statement that doesn't jibe with the facts. More than a dozen large reservations have been set aside, but their borders are unclear, and seem to change with each new development or with the arrival of a new cattle company.

For example, the Xingu Indian Park, founded in Mato Grosso state by the Villas Boas brothers, has been cut through by a government road and encroached on by settlers – the native residents are even now threatening war.

And in the field, agents do not always follow instructions, and violations are punished with a wrist-slap. The head of a team trying to reach the Waimiri-Atroari people, Sebastiao Amancio, said that with the failure of "pacification," a new strategy should be used: "a demonstration of the force of our civilization."

Amancio proposed that he would go to the site of the Dec. 27 attack, and there build a strong fort with high towers and one entrance. He would stock it up with dynamite, rockets, gas bombs and grenades." [Orlando Villas Boas remarked that the Indian Foundation "should ask the Atroaris to pacify Amancio."]

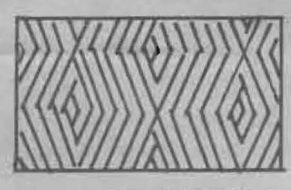
FUNAI did suspend Amancio for being so indiscreet.

Like its United States and Canadian counterparts, the FUNAI is an agency of the Interior Department, where it is called upon to facilitate and serve larger national goals, such as "development", even if this is at the expense of the rights and survival of its "wards". In fact, the agencies work together – the Interior Department's Earth Resources Observation Satellite based out of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, uses its infrared photography to discover the valuable minerals which will be brought out by the roads.

A report produced by the Aborigines Protection Society in London two years ago after an inspection team led by former parliamentarian Dr. Edwin Brooks spent two months in Brazil, said that the threat to the Indian stems "neither from malevolence nor from deliberate cruelty," but rather from "ignorance and prejudice which readily ally themselves with the ruthlessness of interests whose cupidity is content to see pledges broken and even the small Indian reserves violated rather than lose a chance of gain."

Recent Indian Statutes passed into law in December, 1973, enables Brazil's government to forcibly relocate Indian nations for "purposes of national security" and "development". FUNAI fails to protect constitutionally-recognized Indian rights.

During the time the Waimiri-Atroari have been pushed back from the central Amazon basin all the way to the borders of Colombia and Peru, they have had other victories. In the 17th Century, on the banks of the Camanau River, they defeated Portuguese adventurer Pedro Favelo, who had organized an expedition to enslave them. In 1856, they sacked the town of Airao on the Rio Negro after a long siege.



The Atroaris once sustained their lives along the forests along the upper Rio Negro, well to the west of their present lands, but they have had to continually retreat into the jungle in advance of white migration up the river, bringing with it clearing of land, roads, disease, alcohol, and death. Now, however, the Manaus-Boa Vista highway, which will eventually link Manaus with Venezuela and Guyana, is trapping them from behind.

When a Brazilian work crew reaches Indian lands, heavy machinery tears up the trees and soil as the government "opens up the interior of Brazil for development", mostly by large multinational corporations, and for settlement by Brazil's poor farmers. To prevent destruction of the last land available to them, the Waimiri-Atoari are making a stand on the grounds they have left.

As is usual, press reports focus on "murder" and "massacre" of the Indian agents, and little or no information is given for the real reasons for the resistance, why the roads are being built, whose interests they serve, what past experience with the whites has taught the Indians, nor is there any recognition of their territorial rights. It is as though a new Manifest Destiny is sweeping unquestioned through the Amazon. Native nations who have inhabited their lands for countless generations are described as "being in the path" of the highways.

Broken line indicates road being built through Waimiri-Atraori territory.

And as in the U.S., the media perpetuates ignorance and stereotypes. "Brazil Indians Slay Another White Man" or "Attacks by Warlike Brazil Indian Tribe Halt Road Construction in Amazon" appear as headlines in *The Los Angeles Times*. A people's very real fight against other people and ways which threaten their very survival is reduced to a game in which the Indians are always the attackers, holding back progress and civilization.

The Vatican representative to Brazil, Archbishop Carmine Rocco, urged that Indians be "given an opportunity to enter Western civilization", although he cautioned that they should not be expected to abandon "rights and traditions." Archbishop Rocco had just returned from a New Year tour of Indian lands when more deaths of government agents were announced. He had brought the Bororos and Xavantes peoples gifts from Pope Paul VI, including three silver chalices.

Prominent churchmen tried to counter widespread clamor for reprisals against the Indians. The National Indian Foundation assured Brazilians that although it had withdrawn its agents from the "danger zones," it would not abandon its pacification policies. Leading Brazilians had urged the government to use teargas and firearms to intimidate "the warlike Indians."

Last winter, helicopters had flown over the Waimiri-Atroari villages almost daily, dropping "presents" on the Indians below. At the same time, crews of highway workers with heavy equipment were already plowing through the Indian land.

On December 27, 1974, wearing macaw feathers and dressed for war, the Waimiri-Atroari, led by a chief, Maroaga, attacked the Abonari Indian Post, killing three pacification workers, including the well-known Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo, head of the program in the northern Amazon and regarded as "Brazil's most experienced Indian expert."

"None of us knows why this happened," says Jose de Aguiar, an official of FUNAI. Agents guessed that "intertribal warfare" must be responsible. One official thought that "the Indians resent the speed and aggressiveness with which the road is being built," and that since they can't confront the machines, they are taking it out on the people."

Twelve persons have been killed in the attacks during recent months, and Brazilian newspapers say the total killed over the years is more than 50. An Italian priest, the Rev. Giovanni Calleri, was killed in a 1968 attack.

Yet of the 230 tribes existing in Brazil in 1900, 87 have disappeared completely. At the end of the last century, the Peruvian Amazon Company alone killed 30,000 jungle peoples in order to develop their rubber projects.

The Waimiri-Atroari moves are part of a large native resistance movement in the Amazon. Recently, a group of Surui people drove settlers from a section of their reserve, Aripuana. Last summer, Marubo people successfully thwarted a group of FUNAI scouts at the Benjamin Constant Indian Post along the Peruvian frontier. Similar acts of resistance have continued among the 3,000-member Xavante nation who have fought off cattle ranchers in Mato Grosso state.

Tururin, chief of the Pataxo Nation of the Amazon, explains why his people must struggle: "We are like plants. When changed from one place to another, we don't die, but we never fully recover."

Further trouble can be expected. The Yanomami Nation, neighbors to the Waimiri-Atroari in the northern Amazon region claimed by both Brazil and Venezuela, have about 10,000 people. As plans now stand, the Manaus-Caracarai road will soon cross into their territory. The reserve promised them by FUNAI would include only enough land to support 300 persons.

The Case of the Yanomami

The Yanomami people live along the borders between Brazil and Venezuela, some 10,000 to 25,000 strong — no one knows for sure. They are one of the most isolated indigenous nations in South America, living in hundreds of small villages of 200 or so people. Actually, they were forced into their present area as a result of the Brazilian rubber boom to the south, and the expanding cattle frontier which entered the Venezuelan Makiritare territory to the north.

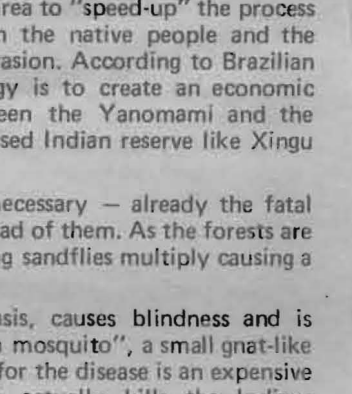
Although missionaries have been in the area since the early 1950s, most Yanomami avoid contact with them, even when they are offered metal tools or Western medicines. They have maintained their traditional lifestyles of hunting and gardening.

[The Yanomami are also known as Waika, Xiriana, or Guaharibo.]

Now their time may be limited. In February, Brazilian Minister of Mines and Energy Shigeaki Ueki announced the discovery of an immense uranium field in the Surucucus region of the Roraima Territory, one of the major locations of the Yanomami.

Naturally, many people wondered what would happen to the Yanomami when the uranium development came in. "I am of the opinion that an area as rich as this — with gold, diamonds, and uranium — is not able to afford the luxury of conserving a half-a-dozen Indian tribes who are holding back development," Fernando Ramos Pereira, governor of Roraima, told the press candidly.

General Ismarth de Oliveira, president of FUNAI, reassured questioners that there was nothing incompatible between the Indian and "progress". Citing Article 45 of the new Brazilian Indian Statute which conveniently gives Brazil the legal authority to exploit the subsoil wealth contained on Indian lands, he said, "The Indian can only benefit from mineral resources found on the land he inhabits." He pointed out that the Yanomami would be able to "participate" in the new-found "wealth".



apparently, only to the degree that no valuable mineral deposits are found therein.

At about the time of the uranium announcement, FUNAI agent Benamour Fontes announced he was abandoning his position as the leader of a "pacification" expedition through the Yanomami Territory, which is being opened up for the passage of the new U.S.-backed Northern Perimeter Road.

Speaking at a press interview in Manaus on March 1, Fontes explained that the pacification project had not received the necessary strategic and financial backing from FUNAI. His co-workers were not getting their salaries, and hunters and lumbermen along with government geologists had already begun to invade the Yanomami territory ahead of the pacification teams. Fontes said he had no desire to join Gilberto Pinto who died at the hands of the Waimiri-Atrorari into martyrdom.

A husband/wife anthropologist team have been sent by FUNI to the Yanomami area to "speed-up" the process of "integration" between the native people and the expanding frontier of invasion. According to Brazilian press reports, the strategy is to create an economic exchange network between the Yanomami and the settlers, rather than a closed Indian reserve like Xingu Park.

Their work may be unnecessary — already the fatal diseases are moving in ahead of them. As the forests are defoliated, disease-carrying sandflies multiply causing a fatal malaria-like disease.

The disease, onchocerciasis, causes blindness and is transmitted by the "pium mosquito", a small gnat-like insect. The only remedy for the disease is an expensive French treatment which actually kills the Indians because they do not have the necessary built-up resistance.

The disease is rapidly spreading to areas where it was not formerly known. Some native groups like the Uxiutheli and the Yanomamo have been afflicted 100%. Also hit hard by the disease are the Kwihokoatheli, Welihessipiutheli, Pakidai and Tucano peoples. In the Waupes River, the Maku have a 20% incidence of the disease, and in the upper Solimoes, seven out of eight Tikuna people have the affliction.

The new "Indian Statute" is a thoroughly contradictory document. It was confirmed in December,1973. Articles 17, 18, and 19 of chapter 1, title III, for example, recognize aboriginal title to land as provided in Article 198 of the Brazilian Constitution, explicitly stating that "land belonging to native or forest-dwelling communities . . . cannot be the object of leasing or renting or any juridical act or negotiation that restricts the full exercise of direct possession by the native community." That is the clause officials point to to tell how well protected native peoples are.

But articles following these "protections" state that Brazil can "intervene" in a native area "to work valuable subsoil deposits of outstanding interest for national security and development." and that the Indian assistance agency can provide the "grant of authorization to third parties for prospecting or mining on tribal possessions." As in the U.S. and Canada, Indian tribes have full possession of their lands, apparently, only to the degree that no valuable mineral deposits are found therein.

The Bororos are a good example of what the remainder of Brazil's native people can expect. Originally a tall, strong people who lived in a vast area of Brazilian heartland from Cuiaba and Corumba in the west to Goias in the east, the Bororos have dwindled from 6,000 a century ago to about 400 survivors. Most of the tribe is now concentrated at the Roman Catholic mission near Merure, where the land is sandy, the rivers distant, and the woodlands poor in game.

"We need protection or our race will disappear," said Aidji, the tribe's principal spokesman. Things had been so bad Bororos women took a special medicine plant so that they would bring no more children into the world

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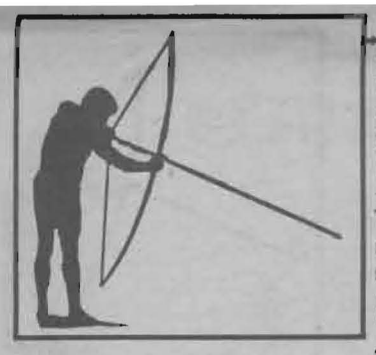


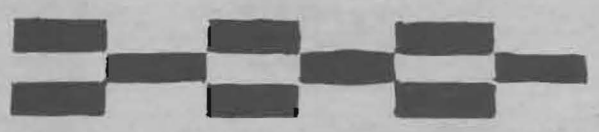
to face their current despair. The main enemy of the Bororos today is European civilization's vices, diseases – and greed for land. Their only protectors now are the priests and sisters of the Salesian mission who since 1902 have tried, unsuccessfully, to guard the Bororos from Brazil's pioneers, woodsmen, road builders, ranchers.

A young leader, Lourenco, noted that the Brazilians don't kill Bororos anymore. Instead, he noted, "they destroy us with their vices – alcohol, cigarettes, and diversions."

Or take the example of the Krenya-Korora. These people were "contacted" only two years ago. At that time, there were more than 130 members of the tribe. Today, there are only 79 survivors – the others died, mainly of influenza.

The survivors were gathered up by the Villas Boas brothers and moved by airplane and canoe to Xingu Park. "If we had waited another six months, I doubt if there would have been 10 Kren-Arkores left, Orlando Villas Boas said. "These Indians paid the price of progress."

A few years ago, when a group of Xavante people were moved from the Roncador Mountains to the appropriately-named Rio dos Mortes, 80 out of 200 died in ten days from smallpox.



According to the Brazilian newspaper, *Jornal de Brasil*, there is also a traffic in Indian slaves on the border between Brazil and Colombia. Groups of native people of Alto Valle de Rio Negro in the northwest Brazilian Amazon region are being taken to Colombia. The men are destined for slave labor, and the women for prostitution, the newspaper said in an April 1 statement.

A well-documented recent case involves the Kadiweu reserve in the Mato Grosso – a plateau of savannah and tropical rainforest – where 344,527 hectares out of the total 373,024 hectares belonging to the tribal reserve have been leased by FUNAI to local farmers. The land had been confirmed to the Kadiweus in 1903 in recognition of their part in keeping the Paraguayans from invading the land

Information dealing with the Kadiweus' present plight has been collected by a local school teacher, Pedro Taves, who is a frequent visitor to the reserve. According to Taves, FUNAI collected 400,000 cruzeiros in rents during 1973, applying virtually none of this money to the benefit of the Kadiweus. When *O Estado de Sao Paulo* attempted to publish an article on the subject of these abuses, it was cut out by the government censors.

Meanwhile, as in South Dakota, the leaseholders have formed an association to "defend their interests against the authorities, especially FUNAI."

Other individuals seeking to publicize and remedy the situation have formed a new pressure group, equivalent to the American Association on Indian Affairs. This one's called Sociedade Indigenista Brasileira which seeks to educate public opinion and comment on government policies.

A year ago, nine caciques from different nations met for the first time in Diamantina, Mato Grosso, and talked about their problems. Agreement was easy in defining what those problems were: retaining their lands against invasion and seizure.

Last October, indigenous peoples from five states – Brazil, Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay and Venezuela – met near Asuncion in Paraguay for what they described as the first indigenous parliament in the southern hemisphere. As a long term aim, they are seeking a permanent voice at the United Nations, similar to demands of the Iroquois Confereracy and the International Indian Treaty Council, in the northern hemisphere.

Besides the native people's concern for the land, scientists are starting to worry too. The Brazilian Government has consistently chosen to disregard the productive native system of shifting agriculture, in favor of fixed European methods – and the results have been disastrous.

The Case of the Urubu Nation

Since their "pacification" in 1928, the Urubu Indians have been the victims of a continuous process of exploitation, cultural disorganization, and depopulation at the hands of the regional non-indigenous societies.

A few years ago, a very important part of their reservation on the Tauari Grande River, a tributary of the Guama River, was granted to Swift and Company, the American meatpackers. Objections to the grant were swept aside by the Minister of the Interior, who said there were no Indians left on the reservation. In order to remove any further difficulties, the minister transferred control of the local Posto Ingidena Pedro Dantas from federal hands over to the state of Maranhao.

Although the reservation gave the Urubu People only the minimum conditions for survival when it was created in 1940, this hunting and agricultural area has been the object of continuous penetration of settlers, especially since the creation of the new San Luis/Belem Road.

The Keepers of the Land

Native people believe themselves to be the custodian of the land and all life, in many instances. When they disappear, they say, all life goes. In Brazil, that seems to be coming true.

With the experts saying there will be no Indians left in 1980 if the current rate of decimation and assimilation continues, the environment too is losing its health rapidly.

Guanabara Bay, once a yachtman's paradise, now is so full of sludge that propellers break on the speeding hydroplanes that skim the water from Rio de Janiero to Niteroi.

Children die in cities when the drinking water becomes contaminated.

Tons of fish die annually from pollution in Rodrigues de Frietas lagoon in Rio de Janiero. Only 12 years ago, Brazil's new capital in Brasilia was inaugurated beside an artificial lake. It is now so polluted it is unfit for swimming, and its fish are dying.

Brazil has adopted the position that if pollution is necessary to modernize, it will pollute.

But the most serious threat is coming to the land itself.

Peter Banyard, in *The Ecologist* magazine, says that Brazil "in one generation is determined to shake itself

Native Family Begs, Sells Trinkets, in Sao Paulo

free of anything that seems outmoded and laborious in its attempt to make itself into a powerful and respected nation. To the Brazilians, the Indians in the Amazon, represent more than just backward, archaic man. They represent nature, and nature is something execrably gross and inefficient, to be banished from the earth as soon as man can bring his dazzling knowledge and technological ingenuity to bear on the problem."

But as the present schemes of colonization collapse, perhaps the Brazilian officials will pay more respectful attention to persons like Professor Pedro Paolo Lomba, who argues that "the Indians are the great scientists of the jungle."

Lomba, the architect of Cidade Humboldt, the laboratory city set up in the Aripuana National Park in 1973, argues that only the native people can teach whites how to live in the difficult environment of the Amazon jungle.

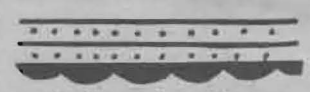
But some cynical observers believe the present flurry of concern with the lives of Indians is welcomed by the government as a useful diversion to distract attention from the general plight of 60 million non-Indians living in poverty. Very often, as in North America, when people discuss what might be done to "help the Indians", they find themselves concluding that nothing will be done without total social change.

Other scientists – right in the government's own agriculture ministry – have warned that the destruction of the forests to make pastures has "already caused grave problems of conservation". It says the lumber industry is "primitive" and that it's reforestration projects are "insignificant."

These scientists attack the entire colonization scheme along the Transamazonica Highway, charging that it is the wrong kind for the area, and accuse Brazil's Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform of ignoring studies which would have enabled it to make the best use of the land.

It notes still another spreading disease – leishmaniasis – a hideous disease that causes gaping, festering sores, almost to epidemic proportions among the new workers and settlers.

The United Nations says that 98% of the region has low fertility soil, and the topography, which is much more hilly than generally believed, leads to rapid erosion. While the scientists concern has nothing to do with the well-being of the native people, it adds another underline to the foolishness and greed of the whole idea.



Many observers believe that the pattern of Brazil's "economic development" has continental implications, especially militarily. "Subimperialism" is the term used to describe what is happening in Brazil. Following in Brazil's footsteps are Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, while Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Argentina have closed ranks to counteract Brazil's growing power.

Much of the new highway construction has military implications, for the roads will permit the Brazilian Armed Forces to occupy, within hours, strategic points in countries like Venezuela and Paraguay, Ecuador and Uruguay, Bolivia and Chile. The highways are not backcountry roads – they have been designed for military use and can bear the weight of Hercules C-130 planes and tanks.

It is probable that the native people are not aware of the delicate hair-trigger their defense flickers near in Brazilian society. A very powerful sector in Brazil has consistently argued that Indians must not serve as "obstacles" to national expansion. An assault with all guns blazing at native defenders could result if this sector becomes sufficiently outraged.

It was the use of strong force, poison, germ warfare, and air attacks by frontier settlers, rich farmers, and the government itself that provoked worldwide condemnation of Brazil on charges of genocide only a few years ago. Government officials are still smarting from the criticism of world peoples. Perhaps notice can be served on Brazil now that the world is still watching.

In 1971, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) adopted unanimously a resolution authorizing the subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to make a complete and comprehensive study of the possibilities of an international agreement on the protection of aboriginal peoples. However, no report has yet been issued. Soon, there may not be all that many native people to issue it for.

[Thanks to North American Congress on Latin America, Leonard Greenwood of the Los Angeles Times, to Marvine Howe and the New York Times, to the Belgian newspaper La Cite, to Patricia L. Brooks, the University of California/ Berkeley Political Anthropology Department and O Estado de Sao Paulo for information.

[Special thanks to Jose Cesar Junqueira and the Brazilian Information Bulletin, published by American Friends of Brazil, POBox 2279, Station A, Berkeley, California 94702.

Persons interested in further information on Brazil should contact INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California to whom we continue to be grateful.

[A new booklet by Jean Chiappino published by IWGIA on "The Brazilian Indigenous Problem and Policy: The Aripuana Park" is now available from AKWESASNE NOTES for 75 cents. Chiappino, a French physician and ethnologist, is working with the Yanomami people on behalf of Survival International.]

[Also available is Supysaua: A Documentary Report on the Conditions of Indian Peoples in Brazil, *published by INDIGENA and American Friends of Brazil. The 64-page pamphlet features articles documenting extensive genocide, thefts of land and resources. $1.50 postpaid.]*

RALPH NADER: "IF YOU WANT TO KNOW WHAT 'GENOCIDE' MEANS, LOOK AT THE AMAZON BASIN"

[At INDIGENA's all-day press conference at the Brookings Institute last November on the subject of "Indian Policy in Brazil", Ralph Nader spoke. He has visited Brazil, and had spoken out previously about the situation of Brazilian peoples. These are excerpts from his speech.]

Apparently the process of extinction is not news – the extinction is news.

The role of American corporations in the whole Amazon area is very, very unreported. The scale is on a level that dwarfs corporate activity in other areas of the world. It involves such companies as Georgia-Pacific in timber, Swift Company in cattle-raising, Rio Tinto Zinc in mineral development; it involves Litton Industries in terms of aerial surveillance; it involves aluminum corporations and many other companies who are now moving in.

Now what American companies do in other countries is clearly of interest to U.S. citizens, . . I think this area has got to be probed by [some Senate committee.] Secondly, there needs to be an inquiry into the funding role by U.S. agencies. The taxpayer, unwittingly, is supporting a great deal of what is being done in the Amazon area.

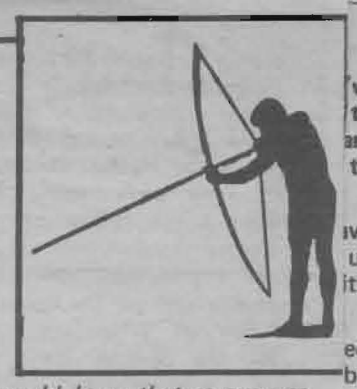
The UN Commission on Human Rights certainly has a role here.

The ecological aspects of the Amazon cannot be separated from the human aspect. The two seem to go hand in hand

. . . And there's a remarkable level of ignorance involving the critical function the Amazon area plays in the world in terms of its ecological contributions. . .

I think the time is over when multi-nationals can operate with CIA secrecy in the Amazon basin without being subject to public accounting by the governmental forums in the U.S., at least.

The word genocide is often used a little too liberally in other areas of the world, but if anybody wants to know what the definition of it is in a contemporary way, then you need to look at the documented trends of destruction over the last few decades in the Amazon basin.



I would hope that as soon as possible, a group of Native Americans would be able to go to Brazil and conduct a thorough-ranging study of the entire problem of the Indian peoples of the Amazon basin. I think the solidarity on a Western Hemispheric basis of Native Peoples is long overdue. This must become not just an East-West solidarity, but a North-South solidarity.

GREEN HELL DEVELOPMENTS UNLTD.

[Last November 8, a conference sponsored by INDIGENA was held in the Brookings Institution to organize efforts to halt the genocide of native people in Brazil – and to gain an understanding of the involvements of American business in the killing of land, life, and human beings. Richard Drinnon, head of the History Department at Bucknell University, attended, and after, wrote this essay. We are grateful to him for his insights.]

At the John F. Kennedy Hotel on the island of Bananal in northern Brazil, tourists amuse themselves by watching the antics of drunken Indians. "The Karajas Indians roam drunk through the city of Sao Felix in Mato Gross," according to a 1972 report. "The Indians cross the river screaming loud in the night."

Indian screams in the night were hard to hear in the plush Brookings Institution, site of the November 8 conference on Brazilian Indian Policy. In affable expertise, speakers detailed the biological and cultural extermination of the Amazonian tribes, a process which has perhaps accelerated since the construction of the Trans-Amazonic Highway in 1970. Along the network of new roadways, Indians have been "pacified," uprooted from their lands, removed and demoralized, or destroyed.

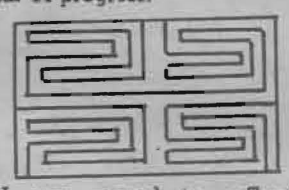
As to why go-getters have rushed to develop Amazonia, the motives that matter, explained an anthropologist, are those of three groups: government officials who have a strategic interest in pulling the sprawling regions of Brazil up into a rigid administrative unity; national economic elites who scent a once-in-a-lifetime kill; and mattering most of all, the multi-national corporations which are always on the lookout for new regions to plunder.

The conference brought all this into sharper focus and left the participants with several proposals for acting against it. If the press can be induced to consider Indian extermination new old news, it might be slowed. Congressional committees might be pressured, as Ralph Nader proposed, into full-scale investigations of the directive role played by U.S. programs, agencies, corporations, nationals. Shareholders of the North American corporations involved might be apprised of the extent of their complicity. Efforts might be pursued to bring Brazil before the United Nations for violating its 1946 resolution on genocide and before the International Labor Organization for violating its resolution setting limits to national attempts to "integrate" tribal minorities. Sensible proposals all, they amounted to appeals to the national and international conscience through the institutional means available.

And yet . . . and yet, on the one hand is the horror of the data which accumulate; on the other is the absolute commonplaceness of the responses. The very institutional means which have channeled and cheered on the urban-industrial destruction of land and man are now to be made instrumental in slowing its advance. Liberal inquiries and appeals to conscience, though undeniably better than nothing, are hardly more than farts in the face of the hurricane, no more likely to stop it than the historic U.S. anti-trust charade was in stopping the growth of corporate giants.

Though no one, certainly not I, really understands how to shake off our technocratic civilization's commitment to genocide, we might well begin by searching for clues outside the alternatives presented by Western liberalism.

"Progressive" to the core, that tradition limits our options to these periodic appeals to conscience, token measures of concern, and to the end of the line, sighs over what is being destroyed – "inevitably" – forever. As a nineteenth-century representative of this style put it, "one must always feel sorry for those persons who are crushed by the tri umphal car of progress."



Or so I was moved to reflect in Washington, and had my misgivings deepen during the discussion of development. From the floor came the challenge that the conference was dangerously near to going on record in opposition to the development of the Amazon. From the speakers' table came the reassurance that of course, we are not opposed to Brazil's efforts to bring its regions into the Twentieth Century – we were only opposed to an unrestrained development of the sort which has always left Indians without rights and lands. That is to say, limited development, si! Runaway development, no!

But limited economic development is as rare as partial pregnancy, or better, benign cancer. The nation state generates the acquisition of things to meet its own unlimited drive for power. The corporation, national or international, generates the acquisition of power to meet its own unlimited drive for property. Together, they create a dynamism that rolls over limits, disrupts the global environment, and threatens total destruction (the ultimate development).

The forces unleashed in Brazil by this process find a direct spokesman in General Bandeira de Melo, President of the National Indian Foundation, who declares: "I stress again that the Indian cannot be allowed to impede development."

Critics have understandably attacked this forthright statement, but their denunciations have revealed just how fully they agree with the general and his allies, official and corporate. Both sides share the almost universal presumption of the rightness and desirability of "progress", though the critics wish it could be made less ruthless and more manageable. Both sides share concepts about man and nature which place man outside nature, over against her, in fact, astride her as a conqueror. Her undeveloped parts, like those of a virgin, attract both sides irresistibly, though the critics are more determined to enter her in an "orderly" limited way. Both sides see in a forest not a sacred shelter and source of sustenance, but a challenge to chain saws, though the critics speak of harvesting and not slashing it down.

Of necessity, both sides see the Indian world as one of folly, lived as it is in an "unimproved" environment, though some anthropologists smile with sympathetic curiosity at the Indian habit of planting trees in the depth of the forest, and all anthropologists have a professional stake, of course, in preserving tribal remnants. (In fact, "on the most cynical level," one anthropologist observed, these remnants might be thought of as valuable national resources, to be preserved much as Mussolini made his highway developers detour around and carefully uncover Roman ruins. Were his suggestion adopted, anthropologists would become students and custodians of the ruins of our humanity.")

If Indians have learned a good deal about Western civilization from anthropologists, relatively few anthropologists have heard the fundamental message of the Indians: man is a part of nature and nature is a part of man. Abstract man from nature, remove him and set him over against her, and you set him to warring against the nature in himself, trigger processes which make both man and nature so much usable raw material, and guarantee disaster will follow disaster.

This wisdom would lead us to conclude that not only the generals and their corporate associates are responsible for the Amazon invasion. It is merely one of the most recent developments in a succession of developments that have destroyed lands and cultures, all of which have been launched by a civilization which devours alternatives to itself. From this point of view, our press release should have read:

LEAVE THE AMAZON BASIN ALONE. SAVE BY STAYING AWAY AND KEEPING OTHERS OUT. DELEGATION OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS WILL ARRIVE SHORTLY TO SPEAK WITH THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS. HIDDEN IN THE FOREST MAY BE THE SECRET WHICH WILL LEAD US BACK TO OURSELVES.

I return finally to the Indian screams in the night. At the conference, a Canadian Indian observed that the National Native People's Caravan had been received in Ottawa by club-swinging policemen. Hopi Thomas Banyacya mentioned the pollution fall-out on his home from nearby Black Mesa. Kakwirakeron and Mike Meyers spoke quietly of the "Indian hunts" conducted by whites around their Iroquois settlement of Ganienkeh in upstate New York. Oren Lyons, distinguished roianer of the Onondaga, closed with a calm admonition to whites not to assume responsibility for a creation they did not create.

Whenever these screams and that good advice are heard clearly, the consequences will be felt throughout this continent, in Brazil, and beyond.

"THE TERRIBLE IRONY IS THAT THE TRIBES ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WITH SATISFACTORY AGRICULTURE IN THE AMAZON"

[Dr. Mary McNeil is a specialist in lateritic soils. This is earth rich in iron, manganese, tin and aluminum, which in time are oxidized in the air to form a hard brick-like substance which makes an unworkable hardpan over the surface. In an article in the *Ecologist* magazine, written by Peter Bunyard entitled "Brazil: The Way To Dusty Death", she tells what is happening with the Brazilian government's attempt to farm the lateritic soils of the tropical rainforests by European methods, instead of the native shifting agricultural style that is so productive.]

At Iata, an equitorial wonderland in the heart of the Amazon basin, the Brazilian Government set up an agricultural colony. Earthmoving machinery wrenched a clearing from the forest and crops were planted. From the very beginning, there were ominous signs of the presence of laterite.

Blocks of ironstone stood out on the surface in some places, in others, nodules of the laterite lay just below a thin layer of soil. What had appeared to be a rich soil, with a promising cover of humus, disintegrated after the first or second planting. Under the equatorial sun, the iron-rich soil began to bake into brick. In less than five years, the cleared fields became virtually pavements of rock. Today, Iata is a drab despairing colony. . .

The dismal failure at Iata is all too typical. Yet Brazilian agronomists and indeed experts from FAO (the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization) still believe it possible to establish such an agricultural system in Amazonia primarily because they want to develop large settlements of population.

The terrible irony is that the indigenous tribes, who are the only people to have developed a satisfactory and long-lasting system of agriculture in the Amazon, are fast having to abandon their way of life – that is, if they survive at all – in the face of the white man's ruthless advance into the jungle.

Many agronomists sneer at [the native] slash and burn shifting cultivation. But not only is shifting cultivation the sole method of agriculture which appears to leave the forest undamaged over any length of time, it can also be as productive, if not more so, than a conventional agricultural system based on permanent fields.

BORINQUEN SEEKS FREEDOM

[Not only do Puerto Rican peoples come from a native North American stock, but their struggle for sovereignty is parallel to that of other native nations. Now that it has managed to get the General Assembly of the United Nations to declare that it is a colony, Puerto Rico leads other nations in the struggle for sovereign status. It is important to watch and understand what happens there.]

Once Boriken was the home of the Tainos. Then came the Spanish. When the native people proved poor slaves, the Spanish imported Africans for colonial labor. Centuries later, the United States took over. Boriken is now called Puerto Rico – and the people of the island want their country back.

The Tainos were an Aruak group from South America who settled in the West Indies islands. There was a gradual assimilation of their culture with the Siboneyes, a people from Bimini, now known as Florida. Eventually, the Tainos also populated Haiti and Cubanakan, now called Cuba. But it was in Boriken, in the mountains on the northwest side, that the Tainos had their ceremonial center. It was also the area of greatest resistance to the invaders from Europe.

The center was called Caguana, and peoples from all over the Caribbean came to sing, play and dance. Batey, a kind of volleyball was a popular event. Like other native ball games, though, it had deep religious value as much ceremony as sport.

In all, Puerto Rico's history, culture, customs, traditions and interests are totally different from those of the United States, the metropolitan colonial power which claims it now.

In the first quarter of the 19th Century, when the first stirrings of rebellion against the colonial power of Spain began to make themselves felt in the West Indies, the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, personally assumed responsibility for assisting and encouraging those in Cuba and Puerto Rico who were fighting for national independence.

Ever since that very early time, it was the Government of the United States which represented the main obstacle.

On September 23, 1868, the famous armed struggle known as "El Grito de Lares" began with the aim of overthrowing the rule of Spain. After nearly 30 years of rebellion, the nationalist forces succeeded in wresting a relatively-large degree of autonomy from their colonizers.

In 1897, the conclusion of the struggle and the newly-regained freedom was memorialized with a Charter of Autonomy which acknowledged that Spain could not make unilateral decisions about Puerto Rico, and granting internal controls and economic rights to the islanders.

But the struggle continued on in Cuba until July, 1898, when Spain was preparing to surrender. On 16 July, the Spanish Army surrendered in the city of Santiago de Cuba.

The following day, the 17th, the Spanish Government, through its Ambassador in Paris, made an offer to the United States to open peace talks. The very same day, the U.S. Government ordered its navy to invade Puerto Rico. An American writer, Jack Cameron Dierks, wrote: "It was not a battle against the Spaniards any longer, but against time – to establish a fait accompli occupation of the island before an unfavourable turn in the peace negotiations, then in progress, could deprive [General] Miles' armies [who had gained their experience in putting down native people on the North American mainland] of the territory they already controlled."

On July 25, Nelson A. Miles landed with the first of 16,000 U.S. troops. By December, Spain had ceded Puerto Rico to the U.S. without consulting Puerto Ricans. A military government was established under the Foraker Act. Parliament was dissolved. U.S. rule was established by force of arms.

In 1917, the Jones Act imposed civil government under U.S. control, and made Puerto Ricans citizens, just in time to make them liable for military service in World War I.

There were some moves in the post-war years of the 1940s. Puerto Rico was given "commonwealth status", equivalent to the Indian Reorganization Act tribal councils, leaving all real powers within the U.S. domain. Then the U.S. advised the United Nations that Puerto Rico was now a "self-governing territory" and ceased to submit reports to the UN.

With the occupation of the island by the U.S., exploitation increased dramatically. Farmers were thrown off their lands as companies took the best farms, established sugar plantations, ruining the coffee-growing sector of the country, which had been the most prosperous for the Puerto Rican economy. That meant the removal of people from their lands, and dislocation of their means of production. Puerto Rico has billions of dollars in mineral wealth – deposits of copper, gold, nickel, iron, petroleum and marble are already being exploited. Peabody Coal, which is mining Black Mesa in the Southwest on Indian lands, has some of the world's largest mines in Puerto Rico.

The U.S. had clearly identified Puerto Rico as the key to controlling Latin America – situated in the Caribbean at the crossroads of travel from all points, Puerto Rico was a strategic point of departure for troops. Today, it is the major U.S. military base on the Caribbean.

History provides ample evidence of the expansionist aims of the United States with respect to Puerto Rico. President James Monroe wrote Mr. Nelson, his ambassador in Madrid in 1822: "Cuba and Puerto Rico are natural appendages of the United States."

The struggle for independence became focused in 1928 under the leadership of a young lawyer, Pedro Albizu Campos and his Nationalist Party. U.S. Secretary of War Louis Johnson went to Puerto Rico with instructions to the local police to destroy that party by jailing and assassinating its leaders. Soon afterwards, starting October 30, 1950, the repression started and fighting broke out all over the island.

For five days, U.S. tanks, planes, bombs and machine-guns were employed. Thousands were arrested and hundreds died. Many of the Nationalists who survived were sentenced to long prison terms.

Frightened and embarrassed by the insurrection and resistance, the U.S. decided to hold a "plebliscite" under U.S. guns in order to declare Puerto Rico a "Free Associated State".

– photo by Charron/Claridad

For the U.S. interests which want to keep Puerto Rico under U.S. control, the island is a nice place to find the winter sun and to be waited on by the native people. The hotel here is in sharp contrast to the local housing (see photo above)

At the same time this "free associated state" was declared into being, a small group of Nationalists in New York City decided that strong action was needed to draw the injustices Puerto Ricans suffered to the attention of the American people. On March 1, 1954, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel-Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Andres Figueroa entered the gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives and began to shoot at the congressmen while crying out, "Via Puerto Rico Libre!" Several congressmen were wounded in the assault, and the Nationalists were arrested and sentenced to prison terms of 50 to 75 years.

That event somewhat still echoed in 1974, when on December 31, bombs exploded in two Puerto Rican branches of the Chase Manhattan Bank and in a part of the Exxon pipeline system that brings fuel from the southern coast to San Juan. At the time, Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger were relaxing on a Puerto Rican vacation.

There was also the attack on the residence of U.S. President Harry Truman by Oscar Collazo in 1950. The attack, in which a guard was killed, was timed to support a declaration of independence being proclaimed in Jayuya, Puerto Rico.

Although leaders like Campos were jailed, the movement carried on. Campos himself died in 1965 after 14 years in American prisons – his funeral was attended by 100,000 people.

In August, 1972, the case of Puerto Rico was put on the agenda of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations. Over 40,000 letters poured in to Committee members, and there were massive demonstrations in front of the UN headquarters. After careful consideration of the facts, the Committee of 24 nations resolved that it recognized "the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to their independence and self-determination."

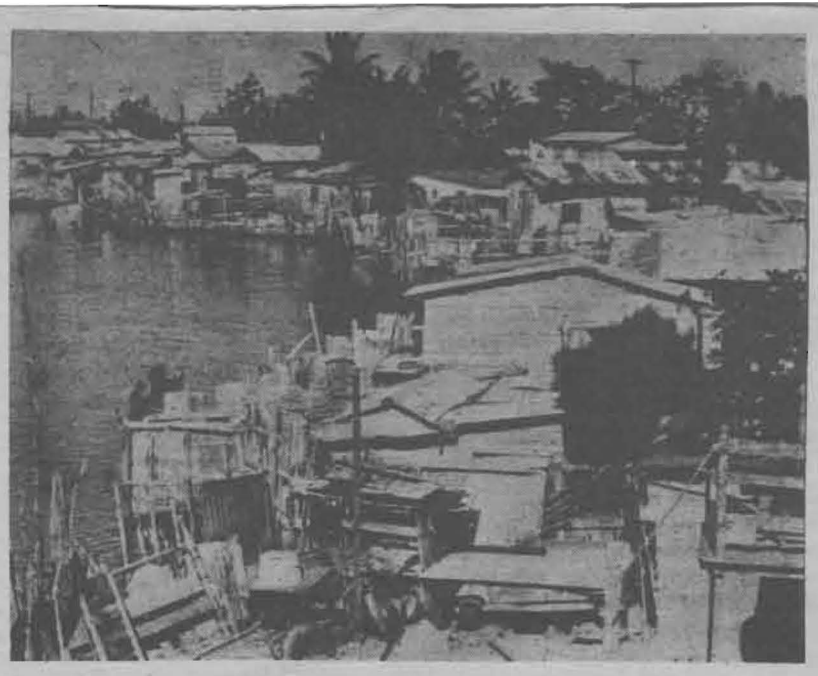
The discussion in the UN raised new hopes in other North American native nations. The discussion in the UN caused a new respect for the Puerto Rican fight for national liberation. The Decolonization Committee voted to allow the General Secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Juan Mari Bras, and the president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, Ruben Berrios Martinez, to address its sessions, recognizing the existence of a national liberation movement in Puerto Rico.

The Decolonization Committee recommended that the General Assembly reaffirm the right of the Puerto Rican people to their independence; that the U.S. and any corporations under U.S. jurisdiction refrain from taking any measures – economic or social – which might obstruct the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination, and to keep the "Puerto Rico Question" under review.

After unprecedented delay, the committee report on the right of Puerto Rico to independence was overwhelmingly passed by the General Assembly of the UN on December 14, 1973. There was extensive debate, with the United States standing alone to denounce the judgment of its presence in Puerto Rico. It maintained that the island was already a self-governing territory, not to be considered among the nations fighting for self-determination.

Particularly with the current decline in the U.S. economy, there is an official unemployment rate of 18%. Industries are starting to close – the Fibers International Corporation, a subsidiary of the Dupont-controlled Phiiips Petroleum, announced recently that it was closing its plant in the town of Guayama, laying off 2,300; the town already has 4,000 unemployed out of a total workforce of 18,000. Other plants in the area depend on Fibers for material, and officials say each job lost at Fibers will result in three more lost elsewhere. The colonial government itself says it may have to lay off 30,000 workers – 7,569 were laid off in February.

The corporate scheme now meeting the most opposition is the "superport". The plans are to take 33,750 acres of land for the world's largest oil port, which would bring in super-tankers carrying oil from the Persian Gulf. The plan was developed by the Nixon Administration with the encouragement of John Connally of Texas. The superport would consume 1,000-million gallons of fresh water a day, plus 30-million gallons of salt water, which would be returned to the sea twenty degrees hotter, destroying the local marine life.



Many Puerto Rican people have been forced to live in shantytowns like these, squeezed between the loss of their lands for sustaining themselves, massive unemployment in the wage economy, high prices on U.S. imports, and heavy tax levies against their wages – U.S. corporations pay no taxes at all.

Leaders of the independence movement hope that the people of the U.S. will recognize their special responsibility to support the Puerto Rican independence struggle. Last October 27th, 20,000 people gathered in Madison Square Garden to support independence and to hear how the struggle is closely linked with their own struggles for fundamental change in the U.S., particularly now that the lesson in Vietnam is clear.

Native groups are engaged in their own struggles, but leaders are keeping an eye on the Puerto Rican developments, for gains in Puerto Rico will mean advances in self-determination for all people, and just as the movement to end the war in Vietnam can now turn its attention to Puerto Rico, so can that massive base move from success there to the struggles of native nations.

[Thanks to Benhamin Bedell in the Guardian, Syracuse Peace Council's Newsletter, William Claiborne of the Washington Post, Watertown Daily Times, the Associated Press, El Gallo, and especially Puerto Rico Libre, the publication of the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, POBox 319, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.]

According to Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), there has been a stepped-up repression against the independence movement. In a June 5 press conference at the United Nations, Mari Bras pointed out that U.S. Attorney General Edward H. Levi had admitted that between 1960 and 1971, the FBI had started 37 different operations against Puerto Rican groups.

When the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization meets in August, Mari Bras said he will present evidence to prove FBI intervention and the "continued conspiracy of various U.S. officials to repress the independence movement."

An International Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico will be held in Havana, Cuba, from September 5-7.

[Additional insights into the native people of Puerto Rico can be found in the book Borinquen: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Literature *edited by Maria Teresa Babin and Stan Steiner, available in hardcover for $10, or* The Islanders *by Stan Steiner, available in hardcover for $12.50. Both books are available from AKWESASNE NOTES, postpaid.)*

SOME DAY THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO WILL BE ABLE TO ENJOY THE BEAUTY OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY

Puerto Rico is promoted by the travel industry as a tourist's paradise. But for the overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans, life is a hurricane of poverty and humiliation. The paradise is off-limits to most Puerto Ricans, who cannot afford the restaurants, hotels, and theaters frequented by the invading army of businessmen, military men, and tourists.

Small Puerto Rican agriculture has been destroyed by the large corporations, forcing most Puerto Ricans to be dependent on agri-business and industrial work. But the wages of Puerto Ricans are only one-third those of workers in the U.S., and the prices in Puerto Rico are more than 25% higher. Most Puerto Ricans cannot even afford the five-pound bag of sugar grown from their land, and picked and refined by their labor.

If these charges shock you, it is a sad reflection of our racist educational system which consciously hides the brutal effects of our imperialist economic system. But don't take my word – listen to Malcolm Forbes, head of *Forbes Magazine*, testify in the *Wall Street Journal* where the ruling class dispenses with odes to democracy and talks in the terms that make their hearts skip a beat – cold profit.

The full-page ad proclaimed, "Why Puerto Rico is unique as a place for manufacturers to make more profits." Forbes lauded the "100% exemption on all local taxes. No tax on corporate income, real or personal property . . . for up to 30 years." And explaining how wonderful it was that so many People of Puerto Rico were out of work, "The People of Puerto Rico need work. There are over 100,000 ready to start immediately."

Commenting on how Puerto Ricans just love assembly lines, Forbes recounts, "For skill and dexterity on production lines, Puerto Rican workers have been favorably compared [to the] remarkable workers in Japan."

The New York Times continues this pro-business distortion of the issues when Michael Stern comments that "the jobs . . . created by the new enterprises bring in other tax revenues that the Commonwealth would not have had." In other words, while multi-million-dollar corporations pay no income tax, the working class, with an average income under $2,000, is forced to finance the Puerto Rican Government.

Under the guise of health care, the Puerto Rican and U.S. Governments have been steamrolling a program of mass sterilization to the point where 34% of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age are now sterilized. The real reason for this program is to keep down the Puerto Rican population as a potential source of political rebellion.

The Puerto Rican people are developing a growing political militancy. The early pioneers of our generation – Lolita Lebrun, Rafael Cancel-Miranda, Irving Flores, Andres Figueroa-Cordero and Oscar Collazo are still in prison for over 20 years for armed demonstrations for Puerto Rican independence (the longest held political prisoners in the U.S.) They are finding much to sustain their strength as demands for their amnesty are still unmet.

– Claridad photo

U.S. officials and the establishment media have told the U.S. public that there is little support for the independence movement which is led by a few radicals. This photograph was taken last year at an independence rally in a Puerto Rican town, showing that the movement has, at the least, broad and massive support.

The New York Times concedes that the "small Puerto Rican Socialist Party has begun holding rallies in many cities to urge people not to pay the higher income tax" while not reporting that there has been massive terrorist activity and labor strife. One example, a long strike of waterworks and sewer workers which the governor of Puerto Rico attacked with the National Guard, was met by armed defense by the workers. And in New York, Newark, Bridgeport and Boston, a still-small Puerto Rican movement is growing rapidly.

One hundred and four nations in the United Nations have supported charges that Puerto Rico is an oppressed colony of the United States, and declared the right of the Puerto Rican people to independence. It is hoped the 60,000 workers who angrily demonstrated for jobs in Washington, and those of us who renounce our government's colonialist ambitions, will actively support Puerto Rican independence. It will be a long, uphill, and probably bloody struggle. But someday, the Puerto Rican people, like the people of China, Cuba, and Vietnam, will be able to enjoy the beauty of their own country.

[This commentary is by Eric Mann, author of "Comrade George," a book about the life of George Jackson. The commentary was printed in May by the Boston Globe, to which we are grateful.]

All FORMS OF COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

[When Juan Mari Bras addressed the UN Committee on Decolonization, he cited the legal history of how the U.S. has maintained control, and yet gives the illusion of self-government in ways much similar to the management of reservation governments.]

The colonial system is manifested in the application of all types of rules and laws by the Government in Washington to the people of Puerto Rico unilaterally without consulting us or our people, showing complete contempt for the right of self-determination of our people.

. . . By virtue of the treaty [between the U.S. and Spain] – which itself was a violation of existing national law, when international law already recognized the rights of an invaded people to be consulted regarding its future and its relationship with the invaders – the United States invaded our island and imposed a military government upon us, and two years later, a classically colonial civilian government under a law which had been unilaterally approved by the Congress of the United States known as the Foraker Law.

Nineteen years later, in 1917, the Government of the United States, by another law of its Congress imposed upon the people of Puerto Rico American citizenship and deprived them of their Puerto Rican nationality, which had until then been recognized everywhere.

That imposition was carried out by the Government of the U.S., showing absolute contempt for the expressed will of the Puerto Rican people, which through its single elected legislative House, the House of Delegates, had spoken out against such Yankee citizenship being imposed upon the people of Puerto Rico. The system of colonialist domination imposed by the U.S. was changed in detail time after time until 1952, when there was created the so-called Free Associated State of Puerto Rico by the approval of the United States Congress which defined the entire gamut of rights which the Government and Congress of the U.S. reserved for themselves over Puerto Rico, and the very limited field which they were delegating to a constituent assembly to be organized by the Puerto Rican people and governed by it.

Juan Mari Bras

By that political domination, a system of economic exploitation was set up which includes all the forms of colonialist exploitation that are known to man or have been tried in the course of history.

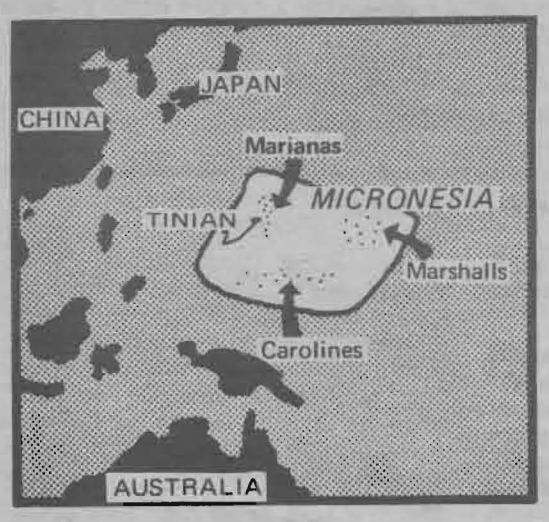
U.S. EXPANDS WEST IN THE PACIFIC

"The history of these islands over the last few centuries has not been the history of the Micronesian People. It has been the history of missionaries, colonizers, commercial exploiters, warring armies, atomic testing, and now of a vast, unresponsive indifferent bureaucracy."

— Petrus Tun,
Micronesian Senator from Yap, 1970

Much of what happened to native people of North America also happened to the Pacific Islands people: looting, enslavement, disease, land theft. Their cultures are equally threatened by the new technology, a money economy, and neo-missionary efforts.

There are the tiny atolls of the Tokelau Islands administered by New Zealand, the sprawling territory of Papau New Guinea, the French territories of the Wallis and Futana Islands, plus French Polynesia and New Caledonia. The British have the Solomon Islands and Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Then there is the British-French condominium of the New Hebrides, the Republic of Nauru, Tonga and Western Samoa; the New Zealand dependencies of Niue and the self-governing Cook Islands — and the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands of Micronesia.



The same U.S. Department which manages North American native peoples also "manages" peoples and lands thousands of miles away from the U.S. far out in the Pacific Ocean.

The Micronesian trust territory is scattered over 3-million square miles of the Western Pacific. It is composed of the Carolina, Marshall, and Mariana islands, excepting for Guam which is already solidly in U.S. control. The U.S. rules it with a commissioner similar to the commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Apparently the management is conducted in the same high-handed corrupt, graft-ridden, imperialistic manner that is so familiar to native people everywhere. Last February, the U.S. made its first public move to acquire new official territory in over fifty years when it signed an agreement which may lead to the addition of the islands of Tinian and Saipan to "U.S. soil".

The extension of U.S. territorial interests some 3,300 miles west of Hawaii and 5,400 miles from the California shores is motivated chiefly by American self-interest. The political maneuvers are directed by the Pentagon, with "Civic Action Teams," Peace Corps, and teachers sent in to insure there is little opposition from the local populace. There are 14,000 persons on Saipan and Tinian, scenes of fierce battles in World War II.

For the last five years, the U.S. has been negotiating with Micronesians about their future status. Although most Micronesians want to be considered as a group, the U.S. has engaged in divide-and-conquer tactics, separating the more-complacent Mariana people from the rest of Micronesia for a first target.

Those years of preparation served the U.S. well in the plebiscite, and on June 17, 1975, 78% of some 4,650 voters asked to separate their 12 islands from the Trust Territory so they could become U.S. citizens in a commonwealth of the U.S. In return, the new "citizens" give the U.S. the right to develop its military bases there.

The promise of welfare checks, food stamps, and $14,000,000 a year in U.S. support for the 14,000 of the Marianas helped to swing the election.

Approval of the arrangement must now come from the U.S. Congress — and the United Nations Security Council, which must eventually approve any end to the trusteeship mandate. Debates can be expected on the wisdom of separating a key archipelago from the rest of the vast oceanic region of Micronesia. And as the U.S. moves ahead with militarism, tourism, and developmentism, the debates in Micronesia itself will become sharper.

If the proposed "commonwealth status" is agreed upon by the U.S. Congress, and if the UN can be persuaded to look the other way, the Marianas will become a permanent military colony of the U.S. separate from the rest of Micronesia.

In an editorial, the *Washington Post* noted that the principle of self-determination was being served "in the name of American strategic conceptions which were laid down some years ago and which may or may not be relevant now." Also, the editorial suggested the U.S. Congress should delay a final decision "until the choices for the other districts [in the Trust Territory] are clarified. Their future may turn out to be different, but the process of determining it ought to be related to the process involving the Marianas."

Micronesians have often dealt with the same issues raised in "Indian Affairs": aboriginal title, traditional culture and government, common tribal ownership of land and resources, and development consistent with the desires of the native people. Like the treaty meetings, the final agreement seems much less favorable to the Mariana people than the negotiations leading to it might have suggested.

The only hope now seems to be for the U.S. Congress to turn down the agreement. Senator Gary Hart, a Colorado Democrat, is attempting to block approval of the commonwealth plan which, in his words, would convert the islands into a "United States military colony." Hart termed it "appalling" that the United States would "involve itself in this type of archaic policy," and noted that the Administration had not solicited the views of Congress on the "enormously expensive" base slated for Tinian after the agreement goes through.

Last March, when funds for the Marianas were being debated in the U.S. Congress, there was an indication that the approval of the covenant will face tough going.

The Chamorros initially were enthusiastic over closer ties with the U.S., but many of them are questioning the wisdom of a permanent irrevocable arrangement. Last autumn's elections to the Micronesian Congress saw the defeat of all but one of those politicians who favored immediate Commonwealth status.

That didn't bother U.S. negotiator Haydn Williams. He pushed on anyway with the old leadership that had proved so accommodating to him.

One of the new congressmen complained after the signing of the covenant, "In ten years the islands will not be our own. . . the majority of people living in the Marianas will be foreigners."

A Chamorran student observes, "They [Chamorros] have been bought off, just bought cheap."

Another added, "The Americans use dollars instead of bullets — but the results are the same." Still, this bitterness was not enough to hold back the tide the U.S. had been building up since it first moved into the Marianas.

Backers of the covenant appealed for the votes of the 5,500 eligible persons with photographs contrasting thatched huts with the promise of prosperity represented by rush-hour traffic on Saipan's two-lane main road. Opponents countered with pictured of displaced American Indians, American slums, and jobless immigrants.

The "Education for Self-Government" program was coordinated by Sam McPhetres, a former Peace Corps official in Africa. His task forces cover every hamlet seeking to prepare those over 16 "for making an informed decision in the next couple of years regarding their future political status." Local people have been hit with a barrage of films, posters, film-strips, economic briefings, pamphlets.

The signing of the covenant was accompanied by charges of political manipulations, propaganda and censorship, and a show of heavy-handed public relations by the U.S. It was penned on February 15.

A halt to talks on the future of all of Micronesia was urged by Micronesian Senate vice-president Lazarus Salii, who accused the U.S. of sabotaging Micronesia's economic growth "in order to insure our compliance with their demands in the future."

On the same day the Marianas covenant was signed, a fleet of U.S. military ships was sailing around Saipan, and U.S. military aircraft dropped off packages of goodies for the people of the northern islands.

Plans for the "Liberation Day" celebration give some indication of what "Liberation" will mean to the Marianas people. The event is sponsored by the Rotary Club of Saipan. It will include a U.S. Navy Band concert, an open house on the destroyer USS Ramsey, Las Vegas night at the Continental Hotel including slot machines, roulette wheel, blackjack and carp tables, high-stakes blackjack, and five-card stud poker.

Edward Pangelinan is chairman of the Marianas Political Status Commission. He claims the 14,000 people of the Marianas "want to become part of the American family as soon as possible." Pangelinan has good reason for wanting the family arrangement — he has been involved in land speculation on Tinian. He is also an attorney for the reputedly underworld-controlled Bally Corporation, the largest manufacturer of slot machines ithe world.

To keep Mariana people happy, and to show other Micronesians it pays to snuggle up to the U.S., the Micronesian budget has been shifted to heavily favor Saipan, scraping up funds from long-promised projects in other areas, much to the irritation of the Congress of Micronesia.

The U.S. has also encouraged the rapid economic transformation of the Marianas. Towering over Micro Beach, the new Saipan Continental Hotel was recently dedicated amidst much hoopla. Champagne, caviar, balloons, fireworks, and an endless supply of food and hooch were lavished on the 300 invited guests. Despite the official opposition of the three legislative bodies, Trust Territory High Commissioner Edward Johnston signed a lease with Continental Airlines granting them the right to build the hotel on government-owned land.

Meanwhile, construction is now underway on Pan Am's Inter-continental Inn, located adjacent to the Saipan Continental on still more government-owned land. Pan Am has sold a majority control to Japanese tourist promoters. The intent seems to be to convert Saipan to a legalized casino. Ernie Smith, a long-time Nevada gambling entrepreneur, has taken over Hamilton's Restaurant & Hotel on Saipan and predicts Saipan will soon be the biggest gambling center in the Pacific.

Gambling encourages tourism, usually of well-heeled businessmen who have a chronic hankering for prostitutes, and observers fear an underworld take-over of the Marianas may be in the offing. The whole scene has been so hazardous to the local population that the Municipal Council has passed an ordinance requiring warning signs in all slot machine establishments saying "Slot Machine Playing Is Hazardous to Your Family's Economy."

When a four-nation UN inspection team went to Micronesia two years ago, it demanded that the U.S. stop having separate talks with the Marianas. It noted that economic advancement in Micronesia was stagnated, and "progress has been disappointingly small."

"Tourism should be regarded as a bonus, not as a first objective," the UN team said. It recommended prime consideration of maritime resources and agriculture, but it noted that the Micronesian Occupational Center in Palau did not even have an agricultural program and only 3% of the economic development is for agricultural programs.

On political development, the report criticized the U.S. for having established a cumbersome form of government when Micronesians already had representative government — a criticism that an Oglala inspection team made regarding the Pine Ridge Reservation during the occupation of Wounded Knee. In particular, the report pointed to conflict between the very workable traditional forms of rule and the imposed institutions — the new "District Legislatures" have too little power and the people look at the courts as "an instrument of the Administration."

The UN Mission also criticized the use of the term "United States" in reference to the Post Office and to the presence of the "Boy Scouts of America" as evidence that the U.S.A. was colonizing, not exercising a trust responsibility.

Guam has the world's largest McDonald's, with a daily volume second only to that of a 24-hour branch in New York. There is a Kentucky Fried Chicken now open on Guam too.

There is also the loss of a way of life. On Guam, where the U.S. has been for so long, most of the young people do not speak Chamorro. "Guam children know more about the history and culture of the U.S. than they do their own island. They write and speak English, but not one word of Chamorro, Aguon Gruz, a Guam educator says. After World War II, the Organic Act was passed, making Chamorros over into U.S. citizens.

"I would like to bring back the Guam I knew as a little girl," she says. "The island was very green, very loving, very safe. We trusted each other then."

In other areas, such as the Marshalls, residents say they'd rather go back to "coconuts and fish" than to continue with ties to the U.S. They have seen the loss of respect for elders and traditional chiefs, and that drunkenness and fighting is common. But after a decade or more of "Cokes and Spam", a diet of locally-grown fruits, vegetables – and coconuts and fish – may be hard to re-adjust to.

About 100 Americans, including teachers, administrators, and missionaries, live on Majuro, a Marshall island. Their manners and dress are copied as closely as possible. Crowded theatres show "The Godfather" and Japanese dramas, although most people speak neither English or Japanese.

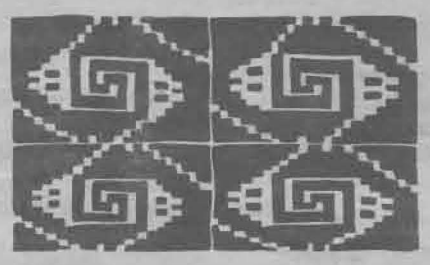
The acculturation is greatest in the district centers where cars and juke boxes are the way of life. In the outlying areas, though, men and women may go bare-chested, eat mainly breadfruit and fish, and follow the Old Ways. The possibility of conflict between the two cultural groups – although they share the same heritage – is great.

The U.S. had been quick to apply its standards throughout Micronesia. When the Trust Territorial High Court ruled that marijuana was not illegal in the islands, the court was arbitrarily overruled by High Commissioner Edward Johnston who ordered territorial officials to enforce the U.S. federal law despite the court ruling. Johnston declared there was a "crisis", and demanded that the Micronesian Congress pass the necessary laws to validate his opinion.

Micronesia is one of the most highly-saturated areas for Peace Corps volunteers. More than 1,500 volunteers have been active among the small Micronesian population, mostly in the outlying areas. There are 206 volunteers there now, 70% of them in education programs.

The concentration of Peace Corps volunteers, on a similar per capita basis, would mean India would have over 2 million Peace Corps volunteers. At one time there were 800 volunteers in Micronesia.

Micronesian police are being trained at the International Police Academy in Washington, run by the Agency for International Development. Police cadets are lectured on the 'Communist menace' and receive briefings on riot control, how to infiltrate and disrupt any potentially radical movement which could thwart U.S. investment, and how to make bombs.



As members of a commonwealth, the people of the Marianas would be subject to U.S. sovereignty. The Chamorros, as the native people are called, would become U.S. citizens, and subject to such things as the draft and taxes, but would have no voting representative in the U.S. Congress. Americans would be free to emigrate to the new Commonwealth in unlimited numbers, easily overwhelming the small local populations.

Landholding is also a worry. On the nearby island of Guam, an American "possession" since 1898, outsiders now control 70% of the land. Commonwealth status would give the U.S. right of eminent domain, allowing it to take whatever lands it wants for its own purposes.

Even now, over 60% of all of Micronesia is in the hands of the U.S. Government. All officials are appointed by Washington.

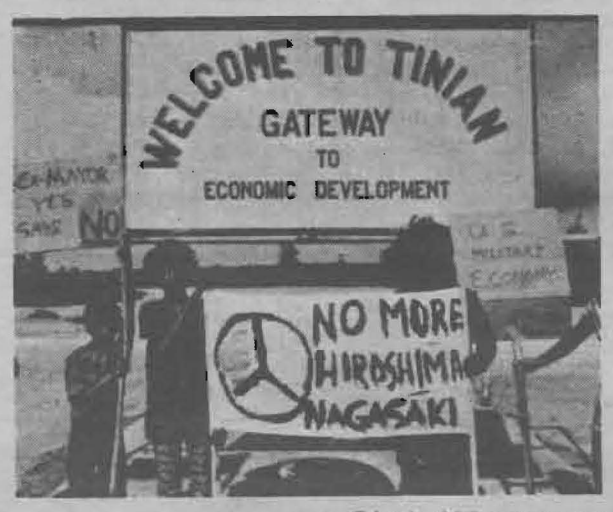
The plebiscite does not give the Mariana people a choice of freedom: they must either become forever a U.S. commonwealth, or remain a Trust Territory.

The problem Micronesians face is a familiar one to native people everywhere. After years of dependence upon U.S. government jobs, the people have become so tied to a money economy that has ravaged their cultural heritage and subverted their identity, they have little choice but to continue on with it – or to engage in great struggle for their freedom. As children are taught by European teachers of the "benefits of Western civilization", they are condemned to a social philosophy of material wealth, growth, and technological progress, a philosophy that cannot continue much longer.

But for the most of the Marianas, association with the U.S. has meant economic prosperity. "We are really on our feet at last," observed a Saipan merchant. "We don't want to lose it all under an unstable Micronesian Government."

The covenant being worked out now runs counter to the expressed wishes of the United Nations that no agreement with the Marianas be made at this time. But the U.S. has been there in charge since 1947, and is not inclined to lose its pearl. The Trust Territory was one of eleven doled out to the care of great powers after World War II, until the native peoples were ready to assume their places in the world's family of nations.

From the start, though, the U.S. had an overriding interest in Micronesia – its strategic location. The island groups had little to offer economically, and there were no historic ties with the U.S. Those civil administrators sent there had no policies set to follow, and little money to spend, but the armed services never lost sight of the potential military value of islands practically on Asia's doorstep.



– Friends of Micronesia photo

Youths of Tinian Island protest sell-out of their land for massive military bases.

According to Felix A. Nigro, in his book, *Modern Public Administration*, long before the World War II landings on the Marianas, Marshalls, and the Carolines, the Navy Department had contracted with a number of anthropologists to prepare handbooks on the customs of the island residents.

Later, when the islands were captured, these same anthropologists donned uniforms and became the nucleus of the military government units. There are two schools of thought about what this means. Some say that the use of the anthropologists shows a willingness of the U.S. to adapt administrative techniques to the local culture, while others say the U.S. has no business there anyhow, and the anthropologists aid in co-opting the government and culture of the people to maintain a colonial structure.

After the war, the Navy established a School of Naval Administration at Stanford University, headed by an anthropologist, and in which naval officers were given intensive training before being assisgned to military government in the Trust Territory.

Similarly, in 1947, also under Navy sponsorship, the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council launched one of the biggest anthropological research projects ever to be attempted, for which more than 30 persons were sent to the islands. Later, anthropologists in civilian status were attached to military government units as advisers to the naval officers in charge. When, several years later, the responsibility for administering the islands was transferred from the Navy to the Department of Interior, these advisers were retained, although Interior didn't pay as much attention to their advice.

Anthropologists willing to serve in these roles are akin to engineering technicians endeavoring to make executions in Nazi death camps more humane, a new breed of radical anthropologists has charged.

A secret study done under the Kennedy Administration followed the military's line of thought. It recommended that the U.S. assure itself of future control of Micronesia by increasing Congressional grants to the territory, educating the people in American ways, and then conducting a plebiscite while Micronesian appreciation of this generosity was at a maximum. That script seems to have been followed.

The plan eventually ran into some opposition from the Congress of Micronesia, the territory-wide legislature. Washington was goaded into opening talks aimed at achieving new political status for the trust territory. The Congress of Micronesia flatly rejected the first U.S. offer, that of Commonwealth status for the entire territory, and countered with a proposal of "free association" – meaning that it would control internal affairs, while allowing the U.S. to handle their foreign relations. In return for budgetary support, they would make certain lands available to U.S. military forces in each of the three island groups.

But negotiations on free association have been stalled since 1972, largely over disagreements as to what land claims the U.S. would be allowed. In 1973, the U.S. took advantage of the fragile unity holding the islanders together, since they come from a multiplicity of cultures, traditions, and languages. The U.S. opened separate talks on political status with the Marianas, the most Westernized of the Micronesian Islands, and not coincidentally, the site of the most extensive American military land requirements.

The United Nations, opposed to fragmentation of political units on tribal or regional lines, objected to the talks. The UN Visiting Mission of 1973 protested that the 1947 Trusteeship Agreement gave no authority to the Marianas to negotiate separately from the rest of the Territory. The Congress of Micronesia also objected, saying such talks would have to wait until a national referendum could consider the matter.

Both groups pointed out there is no precedent for an administering power to absorb a Trust Territory; in fact, such an absorption would be in such conflict of interest that "trust" would have been violated. All ten other UN Trust Territories are now either independent nations or self-governing states under something like the free association Micronesia has sought.

However, U.S. rewritings of pacts for free association have been so limiting Micronesian negotiators say the word "free" should be dropped. They say the agreement really is little different from "commonwealth" arrangements – just the title has changed in deference to Micronesian demands. In Puerto Rico, the two terms are used interchangeably – in English, Puerto Rico is a "commonwealth" while in Spanish it is called "Estado Associado Libre". Either way, the United Nations voted in December 1973, that Puerto Rico is, in fact, a colony.

The Legislature on the island of Palau has called for a suspension of talks with the U.S. on future status until the "public lands" on Palau are returned to the people of the island. Both traditional and elected leaders have backed that position. But the U.S. High Commissioner had refused and vetoed the legislative action. The commissioner said the lands would not be transferred back until the district "had formally committed itself to accommodate [the defense] needs of the U.S. . . ."

The Navy has said it needs 28% of the island to build a guerrilla warfare base, an airfield, a submarine port, and an H-bomb storage depot.

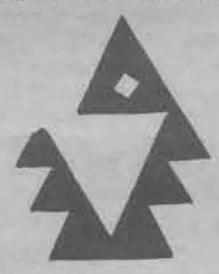
Recently, U.S. Senate investigators told Interior Committee chairman Henry M. Jackson, Washington Democrat, of the pattern of U.S. mismanagement of Micronesia, charges which the United Nations should be interested in as well. Federal money intended to build schools, roads, and water plants were instead paid to contractors who failed to do the work. "It's a hell of a mess out there," Jackson remarks.

Former Interior Secretary Rogers C.B. Morton told reporters recently he had tried to fire the island commissioner, Edward T. Johnston, two years ago, but Senator Hiram Fong, Hawaii Republican, interceded with former U.S. President Richard Nixon to keep Johnston in his job.

Other attempts to replace American officials there have been frustrated by Civil Service job security rules, Morton claimed. Johnston, on the other hand, said that the Senate investigation of his administration would clear up the charges that American money had been squandered there.

The Jackson Committee probe was inspired by Richard Thorpe, a contractor from Carlsbad, New Mexico, who told the committee on September 25 that, on the basis of his dealings with American officials in Micronesia, "what they are doing in the Trust Territory with American money is a scandal."

One investigative team reported to Jackson that a Guam contractor, Hanil Development Co., Ltd., was awarded a $4.2-million contract to build a hospital on Ponape despite failure to complete earlier contracts. It was cited as a "typical example." As of August, 1974, a high school and power plant on Yap contracted to Hanil were supposed to have been completed in July, but were only 6% and 9% complete, respectively. A water and sewer works on Yap were only half done, although they were to have been in service in July.



Seemingly, it is only the fact that there has been corruption in the colonization of Micronesia by Republican officials that is of concern to the Interior Committee headed by Jackson – the colonization itself has proceeded under its watchful eye and guidance.

Tinian is much different from Saipan. It is a quiet farm community of 900 people. The 40-square-mile island is Micronesia's most fertile and productive island, and experts believe it could feed the entire Micronesian population. But the Pentagon plans to turn two-thirds of the island – including the best land – into an airbase, supply depot, and Marine guerilla training base – with live air and naval bombardment of the island. Up to 6,000 troops plus their dependents will make their home on the island, and during war exercises, as many as 13,000 troopers may be in residence.

Tinian's 900 people aren't very happy with the superbase plans. They will have to move aside for a 12,500-foot airstrip and 6,000 new military men and their families. Around them, their children can witness war games.

To ensure the U.S. presence, U.S. corporations such as Continental Airlines, Bank of America, Coca Cola, Del Monte, and Mobil Oil have already made investments

(continued on next page)

on Tinian. Standard Oil of California will shortly commence construction on a $30-million oil refinery to fuel the U.S. aircrafts and warships.

Military operations on Tinian are not new – from 1953 to 1962, the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] used the island to train counteragents to back Chaing Kai-shek in Taiwan.

It was from a now jungle-covered airfield on Tinian that the superfortress bomber Enola Gay took off to drop the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945.Now there are bumper-stickers declaring, "No Base on Tinian." Less than half the green-covered island of 27,000 acres would remain for civilian use.

Now that the U.S. has been beaten back in South Vietnam and Cambodia, the U.S. presence on offshore islands is more important than ever. Workers on Japanese-controlled Okinawa have refused to allow B-52 bombers to fly from Kadena Airforce Base, and the Philippines has never allowed the U.S. to launch direct bombing missions from Clark Airbase. Taiwan can no longer be realistically considered a major U.S. base. This leaves Guam and the other Micronesian islands as the future American military keystone.

Space on Guam is limited, and Tinian, 100 miles to the north, is the next site for expansion. Haydn Williams was the one who announced in June, 1973, that Tinian would be turned into a forward supply base, ammunition storage depot, and a Marine amphibious training site. Williams is president of the U.S. CIA-backed Asia Foundation and a Nixon appointee.

Tinian, surrounded by a sheer cliffline, can be easily concealed from public scrutiny and hostile local populace.

Over the next seven years, the Pentagon wants to spend $140-million, including $19.5-million for a 50-year-lease of military lands covering virtually the entire island. The huge air/naval complex is seen as a primary fall-back position once U.S. forces finally withdraw from Okinawa. This interest in Pacific expansion has attracted the attention of other powers, and now Russia wants harbor rights in Western Samoa to counter the U.S. plans.

Perhaps the U.S. pursuit of Manifest Destiny into the Marianas will touch off remilitarization of the Pacific Islands. Micronesians can easily recall what it means to be the involuntary chessboard on which foreigners struggled when the Pacific was militarized in World War II.

The 2,100 islands of Micronesia were first colonized by Spain, then Germany, and by Japan from 1914. Only about 100 of the islands are habitable, and the total land mass is slightly smaller than the state of Maryland. Nine distinct languages are spoken among the 614,000 people.

Then, over a third of the Micronesian people perished – dying either of bombings, untreated wounds, forced labor, exposure, starvation or disease. Had there not been deep natural caves, few in Saipan would have survived. The island was swept from end to end by aerial bombardment and naval artillery. Now the land is largely covered with scrubby thickets of tangan-tangan, a weed-tree that was planted to stop erosion from bomb scars. The soil is still full of unexploded ammunition.

While the Micronesians note they have been treated more kindly by the U.S. occupation than that of Japan, there is the new problem of nuclear testing. Fallout from the H-bomb exploded twenty years ago continues to affect the people of Rongelap, 125 miles from the test-site at Bikini. New victims keep showing up with tumors, and even today, crabs on the north side of the island are unsafe to eat. All 89 survivors require special medication, and 25 have required surgery. There have been deaths from leukemia, as well as a high percentage of miscarriages and stillbirths. If this is the result of the present "trusteeship" arrangement, what will even closer ties to the U.S. bring?

The fears of the Tinian people were realized in the plebescite as the total Mariana voters approved the plan to get the Washington dollars – at Tinian's expense. Martin San Nicholas, a young Tinian teacher, said his people would not give up their island "without a fight." "Our island was used for atomic bomb attacks on innocent civilians in Japan in 1945," he says. "It must not happen again to them – or to us." San Nicholas believes Tinian will become the "Pearl Harbor" of the Marianas.

"The Hawaiian Islands were the first targets of aggression in the Pacific during World War II," he says. "I do not want my island to become the first target – nuclear target – of the next Pacific war." Another [illegible]cher, Florence Mendiola, daughter of Tinian Mayor [illegible]ipe Mendiola, says islanders do not want to become [illegible] "innocent victim of a military takeover."

Requests for an island-wide referendum on Tinian's future have been denied by the U.S. administration on Saipan.

– Friends of Micronesia

However, the referendum was vetoed by the U.S.-appointed administrator for the Marianas, Francisco Ada, who said his veto was necessary because the vote would have provided a forum "where sympathy and emotion will reign."

"Tinian is Micronesia's breadbasket," a letter from Friends of Micronesia to members of the U.S. Congress said. "The contemplated takeover of the island by the Department of Defense would virtually destroy Micronesia's chances of developing an agriculturally self-reliant economy. The result would be a continued need for large annual appropriations from the U.S. Congress."

Williams characterizes the reluctance of Micronesians to tie themselves to the U.S. star as "fear of the unknown and fear of the end of the U.S. trusteeship," phrases familiar to those who hear Bureau of Indian Affairs officials explain reluctance of native peoples to adopt measures meaning loss of their freedoms. "Micronesia has never been unified, and they know that the U.S. has been the glue that has held Micronesia together," Williams claims.

Williams had tried to sweeten the deal for Tinian residents by promising $500,000 a year for seven years for capital improvements, plus loans to farmers and various U.S. programs such as "schools, public health, and community development.

In any case, the U.S. is getting a real bargain, acquiring land for $9.83 per acre a year, as an advertisement in a Marianas newspaper pointed out. Other land deals have run from $160 per acre a year on up, in comparison.

Among those opposing the move has been the Conference for a Nuclear-Free Pacific, which tried to get the United Nations Trusteeship Council to cancel the plebescite. It pointed out that the terms of the trusteeship agreement on Micronesia signed by the United States and the United Nations in 1946 obliged the U.S. to develop Micronesia toward self-government or independence. The Conference, composed of north and south Pacific native peoples, states that the U.S. has continually breached this obligation, and has used Micronesian waters and islands for its nuclear and missile testing and for military bases.

The building of planned U.S. Trident nuclear submarines in Bangor, Washington, and B-1 nuclear bomber bases on Tinian means an escalation of the nuclear arms race with grave implications for the Pacific Islands peoples. The Conference states that the Pacific peoples and their environment continue to be exploited because of racism, colonialism, and imperialism.

"Nuclear bombs were first used and continue to be tested in our region in blatant disregard of our expressed opposition, rather than in areas with concentrations of white people," a statement from an April meeting of the Conference read.

Eniwetok People Want To Go Home

Elsewhere in Micronesia, an event was taking place that concerned the past – and for the Marianas, could be prophetic.

Chief Iroij Johannes Peter, 83 years of age, appealed in the name of his people to the U.S. Congress this summer to rid their Pacific atoll home of radiation dangers so they can return to their lives as fishermen after nearly 30 years of exile.

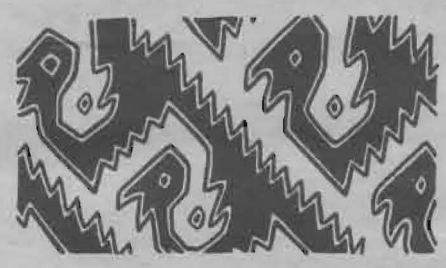
In 1947, the U.S. arbitrarily moved about 150 native persons off Eniwetok to the island of Ujeland, 150 miles away, in order to conduct more than 40 nuclear tests on Eniwetok in the ensuing decade. There are now 436 members of the tribe, still living as refugees, but their island is too radioactive for habitation.

At a recent meeting of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Construction, Chief Iroij presented chairman Stuart Symington with a beautifully-carved model of an outrigger canoe. "We would like to speak to you in our way," Iroij said, "from the heart, to tell you how important it is to us to be able to return to our homeland."

Other tribes and other islands are seeking to return also, particularly at Bikini and Roi-Namur.

In May, Micronesians were told to expect as many as 25,000 Vietnamese to move onto their islands, about 4,000 to each of the six districts. Fifty thousand more were expected to be lodged on Guam – mostly Vietnamese who had fought on the side of their colonizers, or people who had skills which would be useful to the Provisional Vietnamese Government trying to reconstruct the war-torn nation.

The islands had been urged as homes for the Vietnamese by Congressman William Randall and Richard White "to avoid a traumatic experience for the South Vietnamese refugees and the people in our country."



The congressmen felt that placing up to 130,000 "refugees" in the Palau Islands or other parts of the Trust Territory "would allow them to stand on their own two feet within a reasonable length of time through agricultural and other endeavors," – and would avoid U.S. citizens having to deal with additional non-white peoples. The Micronesians were, of course, not consulted in the generous offer of their land.

[Thanks to Friends of Micronesia, a support group publishing a newsletter from 2325 McKinley Avenue, Berkeley, California 94703.

[Thanks also to Marianas Variety News & Views, a weekly newspaper published on Saipan, Mariana Islands 96950 – yes, the Marianas even have a U.S. zip code. Thanks also to Micronesian Independent, a newspaper published at Majuro, Marshall Islands 96960.

[Thanks also to U.S. News & World Report,James Magmer of the Oregonian, Associated Press, Roger Gale and the Pacific News Service, Stephen C. Murray for his April 19 article in The Nation, In Struggle, to George C. Wilson of the Washington Post News Service, and to Chuck Downs of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law's Legislative Review published at 927 15th St., N.W., †200, Washington, D.C. 20005.]

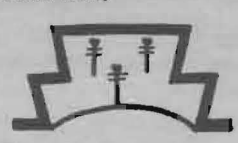
'NO GOOD REASON TO FURTHER MILITARIZE THOSE ISLANDS OR THEIR ECONOMIES OR THEIR POLITICS'

[This is part of an editorial which appeared ithe March 15, 1975, edition of the Washington Post.]

. . . It seems odd, at this moment, when the United States is supposedly retreating from "empire", to fasten a new and permanent grip – essentially for strategic considerations – on a sparsely peopled foreign territory which is likely to be an economic drag. Why should we do it?

In retrospect, it is apparent that the U.S. should have tried harder to encourage common links among the dispersed and disparate districts of Micronesia. . . Instead, separatist tendencies grew. In the case of the Marianas, this was encouraged by the Pentagon, which has long held plans for base on Tinian. . .

Is it not necessary and possible to consider the future status of Micronesia as a whole, not district by district? . . . Second, the Congress must satisfy itself that there is no way to discharge the United States responsibility to Micronesia other than by negotiating status arrangements short of independence. . . Finally, Pentagon plans for bases in Micronesia must be put in the deep freeze. There is simply no good reason further to militarize those islands or their economies or their politics. On the contrary, there is very good reason to push and lead the islands toward civilian usages which are as little as possible dependent on American subsidies. A declaration of self-neutralization, appropriately channeled through the United Nations, might serve everyone's interests well.



. . . If the United States acquired the islands by historical accident, then it must henceforth manage them, perhaps dispose of them, by design.

THE CREATOR'S WAY

by Sotsisowah

One looks into the eyes of another to find oneself. Each of us finds an identity through the reflections of ourselves which we see in others. When we know what others think of us, we must either agree or disagree with that which they see. They will judge us by the standards by which they judge themselves. If they are not humble, they may consider humility a weakness. Such are the ways by which men place values upon themselves and upon others.

It is the Creator's way that all are taught to direct their energies toward the well-being of the unborn generations. This is a part of the natural way which all are encouraged to follow. The unborn generations' faces come toward us from our Mother Earth, still part of her flesh and spirit. They are the community of human beings whose welfare our actions today affects, and it is they who will judge the life which we who are living now leave to them.

And so, when we judge the life which we lead on this earth, we always try to do so through the eyes of the unborn generations. Unlike people whom we can see, however, we cannot pass judgment upon the coming generations, and so we may never justify our treatment of them through arrogance or self-righteousness.

The Creator's law is the real natural order. Just as the Father Spirit combines with Mother Earth to form life, and as all living things in the natural order tend to form groups of families, so do extended families form nations. The nations, as seen by traditional peoples, are groups of families whose dedication is to the betterment of life for the future generations. We are taught that we must be real in our ways of thinking and behaving so that the nations may be real in the ways of the natural order. In that way, life on this earth as we know it will continue.

It is our awareness of the spirit of a common dedication to the provision of a good life for our children and our children's children which makes the nations real. Real nations provide for peace within the local community and also within the Community of Man *because they exist in the hearts of the people* and peace, the unity of spirit and reason, is the natural condition of society.

Each individual is born into a family. Just as a living deer is the combination of a deer's body and spirit, so is a living family a combination of a group of related people and love. The spirit of family life is love.

A living family is a real family in the same sense that a living nation is a real nation. The young respect the old because the old provide love and wisdom and make family life real, and the old respect the young, for they too provide love and they represent the future.

An individual must view his/her existence in this world in relation to all these things upon which he/she places value. Each human being at one time belonged to the unborn generations whose faces come toward us from the earth. A human body is composed of matter which was once part of soil, rocks, ocean, plants, and other animals, and all of those beings have spirit. A human being also has spirit, for a body without spirit is a corpse. A human being must be aware that his/her existence results from a combination of flesh and spirit in order that he develop an awareness of spirit. With such an awareness, one may then come to understand the elementary truth of existence – that man has a spiritual relationship to the entire universe: to the sun, to Mother Earth, to serpents and to all other forms of life. But the knowledge of a spiritual relationship to all these things is merely the flesh of the Creator's way of life.

Awareness of something is not that thing's reality. Because one is aware of the existence of love does not indicate that one has loved. Man creates an awareness of families and nations, but these things only become real when man becomes real, when man fulfills his/her individual obligation to attend to the spirit of the nation and the spirit of the family.

Individual human spirits combine to create the spirits of nations and families – but man does not create his own spirit or the spirits of birds or water or stars, for these are the works of the Creator. All things in the universe combine to make life as we know it, and just as one must act in a certain way to make a family real or a nation real, so must one live the Creator's way to realize a real life.

Awareness of spiritual relationships (the flesh of spiritual existence) combines with spirit (undefined but manifested by active individual and collective dedication to the laws of the Great Spirit) to produce human life.

Real people (among Iroquois, *onkwehonwe*) have more than an awareness of the relationship of spirit to matter, for they live the Creator's way and that experience of living leads them to a spiritual life.

We see manifestations of the Creator's way all around us in the wind, the rocks, the mountains, the rain, and our spirits are often lifted by the incredible beauty of these things. Man's spirit also produces beauty in the things which man creates, in the family, in the nation, or in carved stone or wood.

It is the Creator's way that mountains rise and fall, rivers change their course, islands appear, disappear, and reappear in a new form – but always there is maintained a spiritual consistency throughout the universe. That way is not theory – it is living and all the universe experiences that life.

Experience – not words – defines life in the real world to real people. Experience verifies again and again the laws of the Creation. One learns from water as one learns from hawks or deer. The actual experiences of learning the ways of the Creation comes when one learns from a real hawk, and not from the image of a hawk. From a man-made image of a hawk, one learns about the creator of the image, and from a real hawk, one learns of the plan of the real Creator. One knows that a hawk is a spiritual being enacting a role in the Great Plan of Life, that it is spiritually one with deer and man, and only from the hawk may man learn of the nature of that relationship.

That is why it is not possible for a person to find a spiritual life through written or spoken words. To discover one's relationship to wind, one must experience wind, and to know the spirit of the sun, one must experience the sun. To discover a spiritual life, one must experience spirit, and that means one must live a spiritual way, both personally and in the community of men.

North American people were once given a spiritual way of life, handed down from generation to generation orally, so that as The People changed, the way of life did not. Then, as people began to move away from their personal spiritual commitment to the Creator's way of life, concern for the future generations faded, the spiritual strength of the nations faded, and even love within families began to disappear until grandparents no longer lived with their children and brothers no longer cared to help each other.

That is why, in so many of our communities, the ceremonies seem to have become meaningless and have lost their reality. These ceremonies were handed down through the visions of a people who lived the Creator's Way, and the spirit of those ceremonies can only be regained through the visions of a people who again live a spiritual life, one which goes beyond the power of words, a life which is real.

It is the Creator's Way.

"Stop And Listen To The Song Of Creation"

Dear Sirs and Madams:

re: Since you have been here for 500 years on our lands

We, the Red Peoples, have learned many things, sometimes by choice, other times by sorrow, destruction and death.

My white brothers and sisters, we are the same in more ways than one.

It was one Creator who made all us humans, and all our relatives on our mother the earth.

We share the same four winds, and we can all look up and see the same sky, sun and moon.

We drink from the same waters that flow from the strong cleansers of earth, body and spirit, the oceans.

Yes, in more ways than one we are the same.

But just as the Creator made us the same in more ways than one, the Creator also made us more different in more ways than one.

On our mother the earth are many rivers, plants, flowers, trees, and animals. As with our brothers & sisters, the ones who fly – all are birds. But each one is different in size, design, colors, songs and ways.

So people are different, each with different colors, different tongues, songs, and understandings.

The Creator put peoples on different parts of our mother, the earth. Some of us are still where we were put.

But some of you have become lost in your ways and place and have landed on the land of nations of the sun, the homeland of Red Peoples.

Our peoples saw that you were lost, weak, and in need of help.

They bid you welcome and shared our different blessings of the Creation. That is what we were instructed to do in the Original Ways.

We could do this because we had not lost, changed, or destroyed what the Creator had given us.

We had always preserved for our children and the ones unborn their heritage from the Creation. For cycle upon cycle, we occupied the earth-mother given to us, and cared for her.

In less than a wink of an eye, just 500 years, your peoples have caused much suffering, destruction, and death to us and our homeland.

Your people still persist in their childish ways.

What can we say? What can we say before we are all gone from the face of the earth?

We ask that you stop and listen to the songs of Creation once more, and with your mind and heart, try to understand.

Smell deeply the fresh air that is left – and think. Taste the food and flavor of the Creation, and be contented.

Touch our mother earth, and think of her children, our relatives, and think how many are gone forever.

See Creator's beauty in different sizes, colors, shapes, designs, energies and ways given to us all.

Stop imposing man-made laws upon us, and understand natural laws for your own lives.

If you people need help back home, we will try to help you.

If you insist on remaining on our homeland, our mother earth, then you must learn to respect her, her children, and even yourselves. Give back what you have stripped from the earth.

Clean up your mess – both physical and spiritual – on our homeland.

And leave our Grandmother, the moon, alone.

Help one another, your young and old.

Become a people once more.

Receive Creator's blessings in their original form, with understanding.

Quit trying to play Creator by changing & destroying what has been given to us all.

Help yourselves, your children, and the ones unborn to survive on our homeland by thinking of them.

I, Juan, a grain of sand compared to the Cosmos, am only a humble man. I thank all my relatives and my teachers, whom I seldom listened to until lately. Since I have much to learn, to touch, to smell, to taste, to hear and to see, I at times become weak in my ways. I ask my peoples to help & understand my times of weakness.

– *Juan Reyna*

"To ask Indians to help us celebrate this Bicentennial is akin to asking the Japanese to share in celebrating the historical technical advance inherent in Hiroshima."

— Jim Dance
Miami Herald

Washington, D.C. — The United States of America is having a big celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain by the European colonists.

"To participate, or not to participate" — that is the question facing native peoples.

"It's a birthday in which we've presented all the presents and we'd like some of the cake," said Lee Cook a year ago when he was president of the National Congress of American Indians.

On the Poospatuck Reservation on Long Island in New York, councilman Walter Treadwell said, "I'm an American, this is my country, and I think the Revolution is as important to me as any other American."

Speaking at a forum at Michigan State University this spring, Dr. Jack Forbes of D-QU, an Indian/Chicano university at Davis, California, said he expected "the Bicentennial is going to be a period of vicious attack upon native peoples and other non-whites."

"Every little bank and savings&loan institution is putting out its share of propaganda about U.S. history which is anti-Indian," he noted. He called the Bicentennial "the last great wave of the white myth washing against the shores of America. But like all waves, it will break and recede and won't come again."

Forbes talked about Tammany Day, a holiday observed in the U.S. from the 1770s until about 1812. In many cities, Tammany Day was a bigger celebration than the Fourth of July. White people and others during that time organized themselves into radical societies, the most famous of which was the Society of St. Tammany.

Tammany, a famous Delaware native leader, was considered the ideal statesman, and was called the patron saint of Americans. On Tammany Day, people dressed up in Indian clothing and tried to duplicate native society. The ritual they conducted was Indian-styled, and the society officers were known by Indian names. Forbes says he believes this was an indication of efforts by people to cut ties with the old country and to adopt an American way of life. Unfortunately, he said, the Americanization movement was overcome by reactionary trends, and Tammany had to be discarded.

"Tammany and native people could no longer be ideals that white society could emulate," Forbes stated.

Earlier this year, representatives of several national native organizations met in Washington and denounced the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission [ARBC] in a press conference and in testimony before a Senate Judiciary Committee. There was just one Indian on the 50-member Commission, former Miss Indian America Tomasine Hill, 25. Among the demands at that time were appointments to all of the 50 state Bicentennial panels, a 10% slice of ARBC's administrative budget, and Indian ARBC staff — in other words, greater participation in the Bicentennial celebrations.

Clydia Nahwooksy, a Cherokee who was then working for the Smithsonian Institution, told the Senate panel, "Participation of native Americans in America's Bicentennial should not be a celebration of the past, for no American can truly celebrate, in speeches or fireworks, the events of Sand Creek, Washita, or Wounded Knee. Neither should this be a celebration of the present, for who can celebrate the unemployment, the bad health, and the poor housing which characterize the lives of so many American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut people."

Instead, she said, the Bicentennial should be a time for heightened ethnic self-awareness and correction of inequities.

When the U.S. celebrated its Centennial in 1876, it was the year of Indian Wars — the Battle of the Little Big Horn was one of the events. On the native side, there is worry that 1976 will also be a year of great repression and tragedy for them, while on the U.S. side, there is concern that Indians will spoil the big party.

An Oklahoma student called for a counter-celebration at the site of Custer's Last Stand. "We are being called upon to celebrate the creation of this country — which signified the end of sovereignty and freedom for our people," he said.

But Bicentennial groups are even celebrating Custer's defeat. "Red Sunday," a documentary film, has been making the rounds. At a showing in North Dakota last January, members of the Seventh Cavalry, a uniformed group that seeks to keep alive the memory of the Custer troops, attended in full array.

With the early readings from the Indian gallery so hostile, Bicentennial officials have made efforts to woo over Indian support. Last January in Washington, there was a meeting with native leaders. "Indians are already "too patriotic," Robert Burnett, tribal chairman of the Rosebud Sioux, told the group as he glanced at the Declaration of Independence hung on the wall.

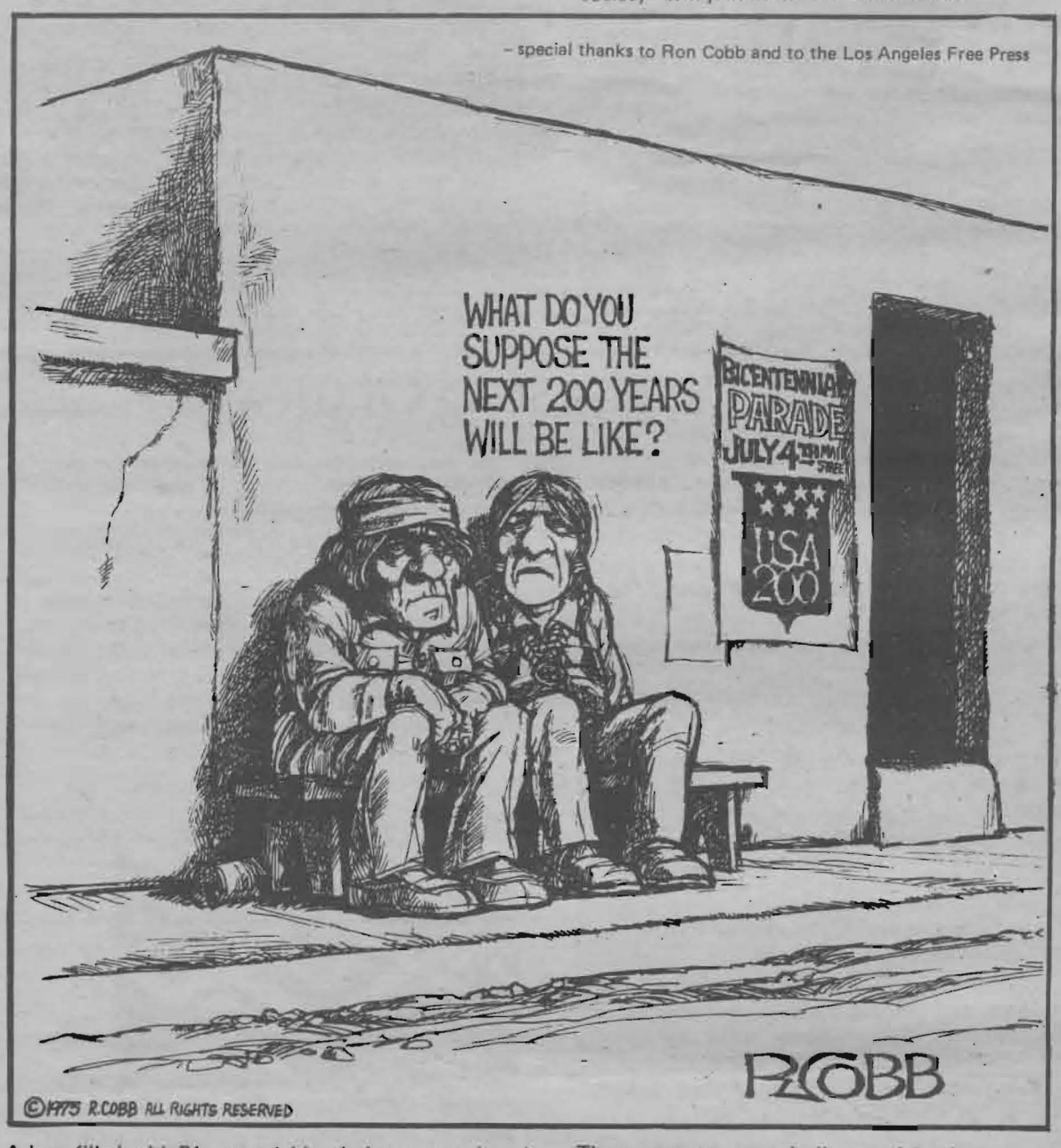
"Look at all those words," he said, his voice tense with irritation. "Justice, justice, justice, justice. We've never had any of that justice — and now you people want us to celebrate!"

The blue-walled conference room in a 19th-century mansion near the White House became embarrassingly quiet, and what was to have been just another routine Washington meeting was transformed into a blunt, occasionally bitter and sometimes poignant confrontation between the U.S. bureaucracy and the native American people.

One by one, the Indians recited the details of their dissatisfaction, and by the time they had finished, John W. Warner, the usually loquacious chief of the federal bicentennial agency, was puffing silently on his pipe, staring occasionally at the subordinates who had planned the meeting.

The meeting had gotten off to a bad start. As the representatives of 24 tribes from the West entered the room, the introductions were disarmingly cordial. They seated themselves around a large table covered with red felt and heard Warner's description of the Bicentennial as "a tremendous opportunity to awaken the entire nation to the richness of your heritage."

– special thanks to Ron Cobb and to the Los Angeles Free Press



A box filled with Bicentennial lapel pins appeared, and Warner dumped them on the table.

"Hooray!" Doreen Bond, a Northern Cheyenne from Lame Deer, Montana, muttered. "Here come the beads and trinkets."

While Warner's own efforts to include native participation in the Bicentennial observances were noted, there was no mistaking the bitterness in the native response to Warner's suggestion that they participate in the Bicentennial.

"I'm so tired," Rose Crow Flies High sighed. She is from the Three Affiliated Tribes in North Dakota. "Tired of programs and promises and coming here to knock on doors to ask for hand-outs — and winding up with nothing. I'm so tired. I don't even want anything anymore."

Marjorie Lynch, Warner's deputy, nodded from her seat at the other end of the table. Her face showed no emotion.

Pat Stands Over Bull, chairman of the Crow Tribal Council, cleared his throat. "Up where I come from, the white man wants to have some celebration at the Little Big Horn," he said, referring to the site of the 1876 Custer battle. "I don't know what the white man has to celebrate about that," he continued, "but the battlefield is on our reservation, and we don't want them coming out there with their carnival."

Wayne Chattin was appointed by Warner as Indian coordinator for the Bicentennial. "We're trying desperately to develop the idea, the philosophy, that Bicentennial programs can be a meaningful thing and a contribution," he said.

Chattin, a Blackfoot working out of Denver, said "this is a chance to make programs that any other time might be possible." He said he hoped there would be a national Indian rodeo, a traveling Indian art exhibit, and a national Indian performing arts center started.

In June, the Bicentennial administration formed "The National Bicentennial Ethnic/Racial Alliance" [NBERA] to get more minority participation. The hope is non-profit organizations "encompassing the plurality, variety, and diversity of the American society" will join in the '76 celebrations.

The controversy over Indian participation was an echo of the controversy in the original event. While some Indians did participate in the Revolutionary War, there was great debate on the subject.

Groups other than Indians also have promised that they will not sit idly by to see a festive orgy while their people suffer. 'When we say 'For a Bicentennial Without Colonies', we mean that if the United States

celebrates it bicentennial without ending the colonial domination of Puerto Rico, we will turn the bicentennial celebration upside down," said Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. "Thousands and thousands of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians . . . will invade the city of Philadelphia on July 4, 1976, protesting the fact that this republic is keeping a people under colonialism, that system which the builders of this nation fought so hard to eliminate."

George Lang, as chairman of the "Festival USA" aspect of the Bicentennial, acknowledged that the Bicentennial officials have been plagued with requests from 'minority groups' to use available funds for social and economic needs. He said, however, that the Bicentennial could not satisfy these needs.

Lang said he felt too many groups were trying to use the celebration for their own interests. He is a Hungarian immigrant, and owner of a hotel and restaurant consulting firm, and one of the principal architects of the 1976 celebration. He acknowledged that "the very reason for this celebration is no reason for celebration for the Indian."

LaDonna Harris, president of Americans for Indian Opportunity, said she is opposed to merely having Indians demonstrate tribal dances in national parks during the Bicentennial. "We don't want to be used as a quaint tourist attraction," she said.

In a planning meeting at the University of Arizona when the Bicentennial was just winding up, Michael Benson of the National Indian Youth Council noted that the cards were stacked against real native participation. He said one only had to look at the list of corference sponsors to see what he meant – they were mostly banks, large corporations, and utility companies. Benson said that for Indians to participate was immoral.

At the Arizona meeting, James Black Goat, a Diné from Gallup, New Mexico, said Indian participation would be 'stupid', and Carol Paruello of Tucson said the Bicentennial offered nothing to the Indian.

Others, like Hickory Starr, executive director of the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission, favor Indian participation. "If we do not represent ourselves, others will do it for us, to our disadvantage," he said. It was, he noted, a good opportunity to clasp hands with the Anglos.

Benson disagrees with Starr. He says that a boycott was one way of showing Indian response and the publicity would be just as great as if the Indians participated.

Grandma Susie Yellow Tail from South Dakota worried that protests at the Bicentennial would only cause further problems for Indians. She pleaded with the U of A students "to bring no more tears to our people – they have shed enough." She went on to say that "Indians all love celebrations. This could be a great thing for educating whites and young Indians."

However, Benson and others said they were against using the Bicentennial to "open the door" so Indian people can step in to make gains. "People who say "let's use the celebration' are those scrambling after the crumbs being thrown by the white man," Benson charged.

In Eureka, California, the local citizenry wants to rebuild historic Fort Humboldt, but they do not want to include the infamous pen where hundreds of native people were herded and kept for days and nights under barbaric conditions. "There is no point in including temporary structures, for it does not serve history's purpose," says historian Andrew Genzoli in justifying the omission.

Jack Norton, a Hoopa now teaching language at Humboldt State University, says no pen, no fort. He says the enclosure, which was 80 feet in diameter, is "comparable to Dachau or Buchenwald." Records indicate the pen was crowded to the point where each occupant had less than a square yard to stand or sit. Women were taken out and raped repeatedly by white soldiers and settlers.

The pen was built in 1862 after the professional soldiers left to fight the Civil War, and the Humboldt Home Guards manned the fort. Richard McClellan, a member of the Inter-Tribal Council, agrees that the pen should be included in the Bicentennial project so the fort "will stand as a monument to the racist and bigoted butchery that existed against the Indian people in Northern California, especially Humboldt County."

83 native persons were killed in 1860 on a small island in Humboldt River, 153 at Hayfork in 1852, 300 on the Smith River in 1853, and over 300 the following year.

"Where are these people, the Chilula, Whilkut, Sinkyone, Mattole?" Norton asks. "They are gone – yet the historians here portray the righteous pioneers, God-given civilizers, the rugged American dream."

Another great Bicentennial project is proposed by Rep. Hamilton Fish, Jr., a New York Republican. As a special tribute to the American Indian, he has introduced a bill to allow the remains of Pocahontas to be returned from England, where she died shortly after her emigration there with English settler John Rolfe in the early 1600s.

Fish's bill would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to attempt to dig up the remains of Pocahontas, return them to the U.S., and reach agreement with American Indians on where they should be reburied, at which point a memorial would be constructed. Fish said Pocahpntas' marriage with Rolfe "symbolized the peace concluded between the colonists and Indians in that region and was an important event in American history."

Dick Wilson, Pine Ridge tribal council chairman, of course, is also making plans for the celebration. His brother, Dr. Jim, head of the tribal planning office, details the activities: "For the Bicentennial, we are moving our Sun Dance and rodeo to another site where there will be all new buildings and facilities, accessible by paved road with parking area, trees and lawn. It will be major renovation amounting to $250,000," an amount surely to bug out the eyes of local residents whose average income is a little over $800.

Dr. Jim Wilson says that the week of July 4, 1976, will be "sort of brotherhood week with a lot of competition for both Indians and non-Indians. It will include horse and canoe racing, national events such as lance throwing and spotted pony horse races. There will also be prizes for best tipis, crafts, and other things."

South Dakota itself, the scene of the recent shootings and violence, will use the Bicentennial as a proper time to "discuss American ideals in the broadest sense," state Bicentennial chairman Les Helgeland says, terming the event a "Festival of Freedom."

In Baltimore, city council president Walter Orlinsky declared Baltimore "Ethno City USA" and proposed the importing of a tribe of Indians from Arizona to be displayed in the Baltimore Zoo to represent "the Indian experience in America."

When asked what the Indians would do inside the Zoo, Jo Ellen Felice, an administrative assistant to Orlinsky, replied, "Well, the village would be an example of how they live, the Indian Heritage. They'll sell their wares, have ceremonies, do their work [like] basket weaving, bead work." She said the Indians would come from the White Mountain Apaches who "have a reservation where tourists come and they do this type of thing."

In Independence, Oregon, they want to set up an encampment of Indians from Warm Springs along the Willamette River, where there will be a reenactment of the crossing of the Delaware, a fife and drum corps competition, and a fireworks display.

There was controversy in New Mexico over the placing of Esteban on its official Bicentennial medallion. The profile of the black leader of the first Spanish expedition into the Southwest was protested by native people who said that Esteban had been cruel to the peoples he found there, especially women. In place of Esteban, the state now plans to use a symbol of colonization, the Palace of Governors in Santa Fe, the oldest seat of European government in the U.S.

In Wichita, a 44-foot-steel sculpture of a "Plains Indian" will mark the historic campground of the Wichita Nation. The surroundings will be preserved as a park site, 'cause the Wichitas don't live there any more.

When the Bicentennial was being planned in the White House of Richard Nixon, a number of memos were written, some of which are now public. "The Bicentennial is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to promote the virtues of the domestic status quo in an atmosphere supercharged with emotional patriotism. It is a great opportunity for President Nixon and the Republican Party to build themselves up as beacons of light for the whole world," one memo stated. "Your participation in the celebration is a civic obligation and at the same time sound business," certain businessmen were urged.

The U.S. Bicentennial official agency has authorized the marketing of millions of items of trivia emblazoned with the authorized emblem. For the more discerning collectors there are silver replicas of the Mayflower at $30,000 each, or life-size reproductions of George Washington's sword. You can by the official Bicentennial cake from Sara Lee Corporation, or official

Bicentennial flavors of ice cream from Baskin-Robbins, or 1776 Continental Bread sold by ITT.

"Would those pushing the Bicentennial now have taken up arms against King George?" the People's Bicentennial Commission asks of their official counterpart. Actually, the word "revolution" is hardly mentioned in the official statements.

And then there is the red, white and blue Freedom Train, financed by five of the U.S.' largest corporations which is travelling about the U.S. The project is being coordinated by Arthur Stivaletta, president of the Dedham Construction Company, who had time on his hands now that his pro-Vietnam war demonstrations by his "Wake Up America Committee" are no longer appropriate.

The 24-car Freedom Train is funded by General Motors, Prudential Insurance, Kraft Foods, Atlantic-Richfield, and Pepsi-Cola. Two traincars full of exhibits were donated by the FBI. When the train stops in a city, U.S. people will be able to pay $2 each to see an authentic prison cell, an electric chair, a ball and chain, and even an official "wetback outfit" seized by U.S. Customs agents.

A recent computer study on 2300 Massachusetts men who took part in the colonial rebellion of 1776 has indicated that instead of the revolution being led by young idealist radicals, it was led and supported by prosperous, conservative middle-aged men who were mainly trying to safe-guard their own business and personal holdings. The study was done by Dr. John Schultz of the University of Southern California History Department.

"The burning issues of 200 years ago read like the front page of today's newspapers," the PBC notes. giving examples like "galloping inflation, shortage of vital goods, new taxes, growing unemployment, gross discrepencies in wealth." In 1776, the PBC points out, "a handful of troublemakers we now call patriots pointed an accusing finger at rich merchants and the monarchy. Today, we're pointing the finger at giant corporations."

[Thanks to John Jekabson of the Berkeley Barb and to the Rochester Patriot, to Zenith News Service and the Bald Eagle.
[Thanks to Washington Post and staff writer Eugene L. Meyer, to the Amerind Club of the University of Arizona, to George White in CharKoosta. to Ken Powlas, Michigan State University Information Service, to Susan Page of Newsweek, James T. Wooten of the New York Times, Charles St. Cyr of the Arizona Star, The Guardian.]

[Thanks also to Chris Simpson and Common Sense, the publication of the People's Bicentennial Commission, which has a wealth of material to aid in using the Bicentennial as an educational event. Contact: PBC, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.]

NATIVE SOLDIERS REFUSE TO MARCH IN JULY 4 PARADE IN GERMANY

West Berlin, Germany – The tone for native participation in the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was set here in Europe in late June by 30 native men serving with the U.S. Berlin Brigade.

The native soldiers refused to participate in this year's Fourth of July parade. Robert Red Eagle Wilson, 22, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, a private in the Third Battalion, Sixth Infantry, told Ruediger Savallich of Reuters Press Service that he informed his commander that his group would not take part in the parade. "I told him that we feel there is no justified reason to take part in the celebration of the independence of the United States, and that we should be excluded," Wilson said.

Red Eagle was an AIM organizer in Tulsa before he joined the Army. He said he had joined rather than to go to prison for participating in the Trail of Broken Treaties occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1972.

Wilson said his commanding officer was sympathetic, but said that the Fourth of July was no time to stage the protest.

The native group had already complained about a parade earlier in the month commemorating the 200th anniversary of the United States Army which – significantly – is holding its own Bicentennial Celebration. Wilson said tanks displayed battle streamers recalling the Sixth Infantry's historic battles during the Indian Wars.

"The tanks wore little flags in memory of the battles against our people," Wilson said. "We told our officers that this showed a lack of sympathy for the Indian and that many of our brothers were depressed by them because some of the people massacred were their relatives."

Go Ahead! Celebrate! Pardon Our Black Arm-bands.

"I WON'T SPOIL THE PARTY"

. They speak of the brave men who've died for this country. Let them speak of the children who died at Wounded Knee, My Lai, Nagasaki.

Let them talk of the dignity of every man, called injun, nigger, spik, jap and chink.

Let the lawmakers and citizens unload cases of liquor while a kid sits in jail for smoking one marijuana cigarette.

Let them talk about the "violence" of "Indian militants" as they encourage more men to volunteer for the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marines the BIA police.

Let them boast of freedom as they go back to work at their "jobs".

Let them speak of truth while their lies still face kids and adults in print and on TV and in the public schools.

Let them speak of "peace with honor" in Southeast Asia and then stare every broken treaty in the face and say, "What a shame."

Let them speak of a high standard of living, while a Lakota child or an Appalachian child goes hungry.

This is written by an American, loyal to the values that the United States will never live up to. When the candles are blown out, and all the cake is eaten, when the party is over, I hope all the guests would be able to "find their way home." My host won't care if I don't attend, for my presence would be either an ironic testimonial or a simple party joke.

I won't spoil the party – it will end soon enough on its own.

– Dino Dixon

"WE WILL CELEBRATE LIFE"

. . . Place your hand across your heart. (Beat the drum briefly and softly.) Feel the beat.

Listen to the beat. Your heart beat is the same as that of the Indian. Yet your Founding Fathers and forebears down to the present lacked such heartfelt ingredients in the heart of men: compassion, conscience, and understanding [and] lacked human concern for the inherent rights and welfare of the original inhabitants of this land. . .

More than 600 Indian tribes have vanished from this land during your "American Heritage". In many cases, they perished as the result of too much trust and kindness to your forebears. Those who remain are [struggling] for survival, fettered with an impossible type of bureaucratic dictatorship.

More than 3½ billion acres of land have been lost by the Indians during your "American Heritage." Every single one of the hundreds of treaties negotiated, supposedly in good faith, have been broken, beginning with the Delaware Nation treaty negotiated in your fabled year of 1776.

Go ahead! Celebrate! Pardon our black arm-bands.

We will content ourselves daily in our celebration with the Great Master and Mystery of Life. We will daily give thanks for living another day. Perhaps, by your 400th Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, if there are any of us left, the Great Spirit will have seen fit for the surviving tribes to have an independence of their own to celebrate – daily – not once a year or every century in the hereafter. Aho!

– Ken Powlas
Kansas City, Missouri

Crispus Attucks (died 1770)

Crispus Attucks came to me
In a vision like a cloud
He said, "You don't remember me –
T'was I who led the crowd
Against the British Redcoats
In the Boston Massacre.
T'was I who was the first to die
When bullets filled the air."
"My mother was an Indian
My father was a Black.
No, not a speck of white in me,
To you that is a shock . . .
That such a man as myself
Should die to free you whites,
should share your dreams of brotherhood
and join you in your fights."
"I came back from 200 years
To see what I died for;
I am ashamed of what I see
I shall return no more."
"Wounded Knee and slavery"
(He spoke of broken trust)
"Segregation and Reservation"
(Then faded into dust.)

– Bob Bacon

"WE ARE THE MOST DAMAGING WITNESSES"

[The native people are] the most damaging witnesses against the image that the conservatives want to reaffirm in 1976. The Indian "problem" must be settled once and for all.

To serve that purpose, the tattered old arguments of the past have resurfaced with popular rallying cries. One of them, "The Indian *was* a murderous savage" cites as proof of his murderous nature, not the dead settlers, but the dead Indians, killed by other Indians. White grief over those slain Indians will probably increase according to the discord such stories can generate between tribes and the success of focusing on inter-tribal conflicts and putting Indians on the defensive.

The charge that the Indian was not "fully utilizing the land" implies that he was remiss in not reducing the countryside to its present condition.

The "we wuz right" group cites the success of the nation as proof that past policies were best and that the sacrifice of all those Indian tribes was a small cost compared to the benefits to be enjoyed by so many.

A final justification is that had the English colonists not robbed and killed the Indian, some other group would have.

Once these conclusions are accepted, then it follows that there is no need to be concerned about the surviving Indians, their poverty, or the injustices inflicted on them, because "special considerations" were given out of guilt feelings, and there is no reason to feel guilty.

The "we wuz right" group has utilized the current mood of nostalgia. After the turbulence of the '60s and the present consequences of 300 years of heedless exploitation of the country, the womb-like past seems comforting and safe. The nation daily escapes to the past through the fashions reminiscent of the 1930s and 40s, by reliving the 30s with the Waltons, and through the popular periodicals which have increased their output of stories and articles lauding "the pioneer struggle."

Harriet Harris

"TURN THE BICENTENNIAL ON ITS HEAD"

[The Spring, 1975, issue of Osawatomie, the publication of the Weather Underground Organization, carried an article on a second look at "American history". Charging that the current administration brands those dissatisfied with North American imperial society as outsiders and traitors, the essay suggests that the Bicentennial should be a time for an honest look at U.S. history. These are excerpts.]

Let's begin by checking out the effect of the American Revolution on the original inhabitants of this continent, the Native Americans. From the earliest European interventions here, there was conflict with the Indians. Antagonism increased as the colonists began to think of themselves as a new nation, a nation with a huge, unclaimed continent at hand.

In the 1760s, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, felt the growing pressure of the colonists in the old Northwest Territory (now Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana.) Pontiac chose to ally with the French, who were then fighting England, for control over India and North America. Lord Jeffrey Amherst, a British general, passed out smallpox-infected blankets to the Ottawas in an early use of germ warfare. For this, he had a college and a number of towns named after him. One way to act during the Bicentennial is to support the current campaign to change the name of Amherst, Massachusetts, and all other towns named for Indian killers.

Pontiac was defeated, but the British were drained by the Ottawas' determined resistance. Hoping for peace with the Indians, they imposed the [Royal] Proclamation of 1763 on the colonists. This act recognized Indian rights to all land west of the Appalachians and was bitterly opposed by such wealthy land speculators as Washington, Franklin, and Patrick Henry. Further land restrictions so incensed the colonists that they complained in the Declaration of Independence that King George "has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is indistinguishable destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions."

The Declaration of Independence expresses the contradictions at the heart of the American revolution. The Declaration was an advanced expression of anti-feudal, anti-monarchist and anti-colonialist ideas. It had worldwide impact as a document which justified the right of rebellion and put forward democratic ideals. This was its progressive side. But the Declaration also viewed Indians as "savages" and refused even to mention Black slaves in its high-sounding phrases.

From the start, the idea of the U.S. as the "land of opportunity" has been based on subjugation of Indians and Black people. James Madison referred to the U.S. as "the empire"; he claimed that by expansion, the U.S. could avoid class struggle between the propertied and the propertyless. John [Jay], first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, promoted the "discovery doctrine", which justified U.S. claim to Indian lands because the land had been "discovered" by whites, and because the Indians were supposedly too backward to be considered sovereign nations.

The "Founding Fathers" went right to work putting these ideas into practice. President George Washington, who burned Iroquois villages during the Revolutionary War, sent St. Clair and later Mad Anthony Wayne to open up the Ohio Valley for fur-trappers and settlers by clearing it of Shawnees and Miamis. Later, Thomas Jefferson, became the first U.S. leader to propose Indian removal to the West. And Andrew Jackson started scorched earth warfare against the Cherokees and the Seminoles. This relentless expansion and ruthless persecution of [native] people, combined with extravagant promises of opportunity to poor and exploited white Americans, has continued to be the trademark of the U.S. ruling class.

Instead of basking in the corrupt tradition of Washington and Madison, we can use the Bicentennial period to recapture a people's history and to support the urgent struggles of Native Americans. There are now 30 million Indians living in the Western Hemisphere, and Indian culture and resistance has survived over 500 years of foreign attack. Support the Wounded Knee defendants. Self-determination for the Menominees in Wisconsin, the Mohawks in New York.

"I CANNOT REJOICE WITH YOU"

Now that the American public are beginning to rejoice and prepare for the Bicentennial, many White people are coming to me and my people and asking if we would be willing to participate.

I appreciate the sensitivity of those who are sincere. I forgive the ones who are patronizing us out of ignorance, and I pray for those who only intend to exploit us for their own selfish gains.

As an American Indian, I honestly have nothing to rejoice about. In the past two hundred years, my cultural-tribal people have been subjected to every conceivable form of malice, genocide, and discrimination that mankind can conceive and direct against another race. History records the acts, libraries reveal the facts, and time will tell the truth.

Many tribes who once were rich in cultural heritage, Indians who once performed sacred dances to the Creator, and prayed for the welfare of all peoples, animal and man alike, are now extinct from annihilation by the most cruel forms of murder and debauchery. Sacred lands which once flourished with medicine and herbs have become national playgrounds covered with cement, people, and garbage. Burial grounds which once were the home of our grandparents, leaders and children have been dug up for museum specimens or replaced by modern apartment houses or parking lots. . . Everywhere an Indian turns, he sees a cancer growing and spreading death upon land once full of life.

. . . I am sorry if I sound bitter, my White brother, but after all my people have been through, I cannot rejoice with you. You go ahead and have your Bicentennial and have your fun. In the meantime, I will pray for *us all* in the sacred sweat lodge. It is the only hope we have left.

– Bobby Lake
Arcata, California

PACIFIC

HANK ADAMS CHARGES ABUSE OF POLICE POWER IN NATIVE CAUSES

Tacoma, Washington – Hank Adams, now a member of a U.S. Senate Indian Policy Review Commission Task Force, has asked the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties & Administration of Justice, to investigate what he calls "an intolerably ludicrous abuse of governmental police, investigative, and prosecutorial powers against a handful of Indian people in Washington State."

From 1964 to the present time, Adams says, officials designed a campaign of injuring specific Indian persons and of "victimizing other people directly or peripherally associated with target persons." He says the various state and federal agencies involved feed each others' biases, and that each have their own motivations to want these particular native people rendered inactive.

Adams charges that the office of the U.S. Attorney in Western Washington is a central force for "this abusive police combine." He says that office has declared an all-out campaign to "crush that Franks Landing bunch" which spearheaded the fishing struggle in Washington for years – particularly the families of Sid Mills and Billy Frank. Adams says rumors have been spread from the U.S. Attorney's office that Franks Landing people are members of a "secret terrorist organization called "The Red Hand" and claims that they are responsible for the disappearance or death of a federal agent who had them under surveillance.

The present U.S. Attorney is Stan Pitkin. Adams charges that Pitkin recently told a nationally-prominent figure that the "Franks Landing bunch" were a "subversive criminal element." In 1971, Adams says, Pitkin told a national news reporter that Adams was responsible for having a 14-year-old Indian boy holding him under guard for 15 minutes in Tacoma, and for disabling his car with sugar in the gas tank on the same occasion. At the time, Adams was living in New York City.

The U.S. Attorney's office will not prosecute complaints of criminal violations against anyone associated with Franks Landing people, Adams says, a charge similar to that of AIM people against South Dakota's U.S. Attorney, William Clayton. "This has created a rather large grouping of Indian people who most assuredly shall be denied any protections of federal laws no matter what offenses might be committed against their persons, properties, or rights."

Adams asked the Congressional committees to determine the extent that the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] has maintained files or surveillance or taken actions against Sid Mills, himself, or the Survival of American Indians Association [SAIA] of which Adams has been a central figure. Adams is particularly interested in whether the CIA or FBI exerted pressures to have him confined in jail in 1971 just before he was scheduled to leave with five other native people to Hanoi on a peace mission to North Vietnam. "It is my information that the proposed travel was personally discussed by Gen. Alexander Haig" who later became chief of staff for former U.S. President Richard Nixon.

Since "virtually every other state and federal agency has felt need to investigate our people," Adams says it would be strange if the CIA were not involved. Among the specific charges he wants investigated are the stopping of mail deliveries and maintenance of mail covers by the U.S. Postal Service. He alleges that as early as 1964, the BIA tried to discredit him by claiming he was a "Communist" in the pay of the Communist Party USA. That strategy was plotted in a session in which travelling government employees were instructed to gossip about Adams whenever a private occasion would permit it.

When Adams was employed as Community Action Program director for the Quileute Tribe, he says that BIA employee Cecil Albee urged the Quileutes to fire him, and when they refused, federal officials threatened to board-up a tribal community center and gymnasium as long as Adams was employed. "HUD admitted the threat, but claimed a mistake and withdrew it when questioned by *Washington Post* reporter George Lardner, Jr.," Adams says.

In 1964, the BIA provided confidential agency information to the Washington Game Department on families and members of the Nisqually, Puyallup, and Muckleshoot Tribes when state officials compiled dossiers on all adult members of each of those tribes, which were active in fishing rights struggles.

In 1967 and 1968, the Army's Counterintelligence Analysis Detachment regularly maintained surveillance through undercover agents. Former Army agents Alan Gibbs and Ralph Stein verified these activities a few years ago in separate press interviews from Wenatchee, Washington, and Flushing, New York. In addition, Adams says, armed military personnel from nearby Fort Lewis "regularly and routinely joined armed agents of the Washington Game and Fisheries Departments in raids against Indian fishermen at various sites on the Nisqually River." Last year, U.S. District Court Judge Frank Boldt confirmed that the Indian fishermen were within their rights.

In Washington, D.C., the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division regularly refused to prosecute cases referred to it by Adams and other SAIA people. In fact, Adams says, senior Civil Rights Division attorneys showed investigative files on Adams and the others to private citizens apparently "for their interest value and potential effect in discrediting myself and my workings with different people and organizations."

Adams has demanded that he see his FBI file. He says he was told by a friendly federal attorney that the files contain "the most ludicrous compilations" of gossip and rumors, and that there was evidence of "personal hatred" by some FBI agents. He says he was told that there was a "special vendetta" to try to pin some federal violation on him.

Adams has been a behind-the-scenes worker for various causes besides fishing rights. He was active in drawing up the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, and as a negotiator and peacemaker during the occupation of Wounded Knee.

"It appears that the Justice Department also supplied defense attorneys at the St. Paul Wounded Knee trial some deliberately misleading, false, or contrived information or records for the purpose of convincing or wrongly causing them or the defendants to believe that I was an FBI informant against them," Adams says.

Adams was arrested by the FBI in Washington when he was returning to congressional representatives documents stolen from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Headquarters. A grand jury refused to return an indictment against him, however.

If Adams charges are investigated by the Congressional committees, it could lay bare a pattern of selective prosecution, harassment, illegal surveillance for many other native activists. When the possibilities for peaceful and legal protest of legitimate grievances are closed, stronger measures become inevitable, and Adams' action could be helpful in restoring sanity to a rapidly-escalating reactionary and violent response by law enforcement officials.

HAWAIIAN NATIVES WAKE UP TO KEEP RIGHTS ALIVE AND STRONG

Kaunakakai, Hawaii – A hundred Molokai Island residents hiked across the island on July 4 to demonstrate that their ancient Hawaiian right-of-way laws are more binding than modern statutes and deeds.

The 12-mile-long foot-trail crosses private ranch land and resort beaches. Walter Ritte, Jr., Hui Alaloa [Group of the Long Trails] chairman, said the purpose of the hike was to "assert our rights as Hawaiians" to use such trails to reach public beaches and offshore waters, to fish and to gather other sea foods. The Molokai Ranch owns 44% of the island and allows access across its west-end land only to persons bearing properly-endorsed passes.

That policy, says Hui Alaloa, violates the ancient trail rights confirmed by Kamehameha I when he promulgated his "Splintered Paddle Decree" granting all Hawaiians free use of shoreline areas and trails.

"We, the people of Hawaii, own the beaches and we are going to go to those beaches whenever we want," Ritte says. "We are not going to bow down before Molokai Ranch and say, 'Please give me a pass so I can fish to feed my family.' "

"We are the Original People of this land, and other people who came here have to learn that they cannot continue to step on us until we disappear into the dirt.

Ritte said the beach access issue is "just a part of a larger Hawaiian rights movement going on in Hawaii today."

For Lost Land: $1-Billion Bill

Another organization, ALOHA, has been pushing a $1-billion land reparations bill. Recently, it made a move which Hawaii Senator Daniel Inouye says is "totally unrealistic" – they want 2.5-million acres of U.S. Government land in addition to the billion dollars. ALOHA also wants local jurisdiction over mining, geo-thermal, and ocean-related natural resources.

Inouye said that "a bill of this sort has no chance of passage at this time, and I think it only serves to detract from the primary issue – which is to convince the Congress that the U.S. did in fact commit a wrong at the turn of the century when it participated in the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani."

He said he didn't mind asking Congress for the money, but his colleagues would "look at me and either smile or express disbelief" if he were to ask for the land.

ALOHA spokesmen say that all they are asking for is rights that existed prior to the 1893 overthrow. ALOHA stands for "Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry." Their move has been inspired, in large part, by the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement, and they suggest a similar Hawaiian Aboriginal Corporation be set up for economic development of Hawaii's native people.

ALOHA has received a loan of $15,000 from the Northwest Alaska Natives Association Regional Corporation (NANA). "Other native groups made loans to us when we were fighting for claims, and we felt we could do no less for the Hawaiians," NANA president John W. Schaeffer said in May. The Alaska claims settlement had been fought with loans from Yakima people in Washington State and two Alaska native groups who had reached an earlier settlement.

Maxwell and his daughter had gone to Kotzebue, Alaska, in late April to make a plea for financial support. Previously, ALOHA officers had visited Anchorage to confer with native corporations officials about land claims.

Hearings have already been held on the original bill. Some leaders have suggested raising the amount from $1-billion to $16-billion, but president Charles Maxwell said "most of us, as Hawaiians, can associate more of our interests with land than we can to money."

The Move for Secession

Another movement is led by Peggy Ha'o Ross of Maui who has taken actions in U.S. District Court in Hawaii to untie the bonds of statehood so that Hawaii could become an independent nation. She says she acts on behalf of other "native Hawaiians." Attached to the suit are eviction notices which Ross asks the court to order served upon the state government.

– Honolulu Advertiser

The Splintered Paddle Decree Comes First

In December, 1973, she filed suit for $300-billion in damages, challenging the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and Hawaii's annexation to the United States in 1890. The suit was dismissed by Judge Samuel P. King on the grounds that it was "frivolous".

North West

COLVILLE WOMAN APPEALING MURDER CONVICTION IN DEATH OF MOLESTER

Spokane, Washington — Yvonne Wanrow, a 31-year-old Colville Lake band native mother of 3 children, is appealing a 25-year prison sentence for killing a man who attempted to molest her young son and who had earlier raped her babysitter's seven-year-old daughter.

She was convicted by an all-white jury at the height of the anti-Indian outpourings in the U.S. press after the occupation of Wounded Knee. "I get the feeling that I was just being used by the prosecutor to get where he was going on the political ladder," Wanrow says. "It's terrible. Shall I just be swept into prison? Or fight? I can't win without people's support."

Wanrow is divorced. She is an artist and writer, and since her arrest in 1972, she has done work in the local Indian alcoholism center, helped to establish a spiritual center in eastern Washington, and taken in native children who are unable to stay with their families.

On August 11, 1972, Wanrow was resting at home after her leg had been broken in a fall. Her son, Darren, then eight years old, was staying with a white baby-sitter, Shirley Hooper. Darren and the babysitter's 10-year-old daughter were playing outside when they were approached by a man named William Wesler, 62, who lived two houses away. He enticed the children inside his home, locked the door, picked up a knife. While the other child struggled to get the door open, Darren distracted Wesler, sustaining severe bruises on his arm before both children managed to escape by kicking through the screen door with Wesler chasing them. While the children were telling Shirley Hooper what had happened, Wesler dragged their bikes to his house, hoping that they would return for them.

Hooper called the police — for the third time in three days. The two previous reports concerned a prowler and peeping tom, later identified as Wesler, who had been seen crouching in the bushes outside the Hooper house, who had slashed the screens on the Hooper bedroom window, and who had unscrewed the light bulb on her front porch. This time, Hooper called to report a man who had attempted to molest two young children.

While the police were taking their report, Hooper's 7-year-old daughter, Mildred, told her mother that Wesler was the same man who had "done that thing" to her. Several months previously, Hooper had taken the child to a public health clinic for a vaginal itch; doctors had diagnosed and treated her for venereal disease.

Mildred had been too terrified to tell her mother who had raped her until she saw the police talking to her mother and understood what had happened to her sister and Darren.

The police were not surprised. They were familiar with the man, whom they had nicknamed "Chicken Bill." He had been arrested on previous occasions for child molestation and had spent time in mental institutions as a result.

Despite this knowledge, the police made no arrest that evening. They told Hooper to file a complaint later, and suggested that she spread flour outside her bedroom window so that there would be footprints in case the man returned that night.

Shirley Hooper called Yvonne Wanrow, who suggested that she bring all the children to her house that night. Hooper refused, insisting instead that Yvonne come to her house and bring a gun, a gun purchased some time previously because of threats of trouble from white neighbors.

The two women stayed up to watch over their five sleeping children. They could hear noises coming from the Wesler residence, and around midnight, the tension mounting, Hooper asked Yvonne's sister and brother-in-law to join them. They came, bringing three more children.

Just as dawn was breaking, Yvonne's brother-in-law left the house, unknown to the three women, and forgot to lock the front door. He went to Wesler's home, made accusations, and got into a fight with a man who was with Wesler, one David Kelly, 26. Wesler, infuriated and drunk, charged over to the Hooper residence.

The man, who stands 6'2", drunken and wild-eyed, pushed past Yvonne who was standing at the door screaming for help, and went into the living room. The shouts of Hooper, Yvonne and her sister awoke Yvonne's 3-year-old nephew, asleep on the couch, and his screams drew Wesler's attention. He moved toward the child, then lurched towards Yvonne and started to grab her.

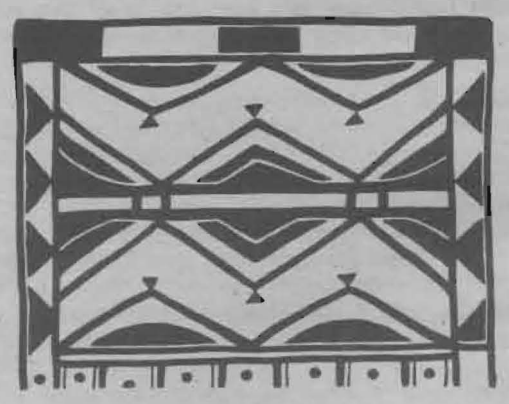
Yvonne, 5'4" tall, in a cast and on crutches, drew her pistol from the waistband of her pants and shot point blank at her attacker. Wesler fell, and Kelly, entering the room at that moment, was wounded and fled.

Hooper called Spokane Crime Check. Yvonne, upset, said she had just shot a man. The police continued to interrogate her, never mentioning her rights or telling her the call was being recorded. When police arrived, they took Yvonne, Shirley Hooper, and the brother-in-law to the police station, where Yvonne was booked on suspicion of murder.

She had no money for an attorney, and was assigned a public defender. In October, 1972, the public defender's office filed a formal plea of guilty, despite Yvonne's protest. A month later, the family was finally able to raise enough money to retain a private attorney, who was engaged in civil, rather than criminal practice.

Her plea was changed to "not guilty" and on May 7, 1973, Yvonne Wanrow's trial began. The evening that jury selection was completed and the jurors were allowed to go home, an article appeared in the local press reporting Wanrow's case, and her previous plea of "guilty." A defense motion the following morning asking that the jury be excused was denied. The tape of the conversation with the state police was admitted as evidence during the trial, and was replayed during the second day of jury deliberation. The prosecution made much of the deceptively calm icy tone of her voice on the tape to say that she had planned to kill Wesler and had lured him to the Hooper house. The prosecution said no one could sound so calm unless she had cold-bloodedly planned it.

The verdict of guilty was handed down May 13 — Mother's Day — by the all-white jury of seven women and five men. Evidence concerning William Wesler's record as a sex offender was not allowed by the court. Mildred Hooper, the 7-year-old child who was raped by Wesler, and the doctor who had treated Darren Wanrow, were not permitted as witnesses.



On August 9, 1973, Wanrow was sentenced to two 25-year prison terms, to run concurrently, and one mandatory five-year sentence for the use of a deadly weapon. Her case is now before the Washington State Appellate Court and the defense has asked that she be given a new trial. Yvonne Wanrow is currently out on bond pending the appeal.

The address for information, petitions, contributions, letters of support is:

Indian Legal Defense Committee
2517 W. Broadway
Spokane, Washington 99201

[Thanks to Liberation News Service for this information.]

APPEALS COURT REAFFIRMS NATIVE FISHING RIGHTS; OFFICIALS ANGRY

Seattle, Washington — The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has affirmed District Judge George Boldt's historic 1974 decision favoring treaty fishing rights for native peoples of this area.

Meeting in San Francisco, California, the three-judge panel released its ruling June 4. It was unanimous and without modification of Boldt's original decision that treaties of 1854 and 1855 guaranteed native peoples the right to 50% of the total catch in their ancestral fishing grounds, and exempting them from state regulations.

Boldt took continuing jurisdiction over fishing rights controversies, ordering the state to set salmon and steelhead regulations to implement his decisions, and extending his order to include a total of 20 Washington tribes. Washington State immediately appealed his ruling.

In the appeal decision, Circuit Judge Herbert Choy of Hawaii stated that "Indians negotiated the treaties as at least quasi-sovereign nations. They relinquished millions of acres of land, retiring to reservations carved out of those lands, but they expressly reserved their indispensable right to fish in traditional places. The U.S. obtained for the settlers and for the subsequently-admitted state only the right of equal access to these fishing grounds."

Judge Choy said the state may not "force treaty Indians to yield their own,.. . . interests in order to promote the welfare of the state or their citizens." Instead, Choy said, the state must pursue its goals "as best it can by regulating its own non-treaty citizens" and may secure Indian compliance only if the Indians agree. If conservation measures are necessary, Choy said, the state must first curtail non-Indian fishing of a particular run before it can insist on Indian curtailment.

When confirmation of the Boldt decision was announced, Northwest tribes charged that non-Indians had already taken more than 50% of the 1975 catch, and called for a closure of all non-Indian fisheries for the remainder of the year. Last year, Indian fishers took approximately 16% of the commercial salmon catch in Washington, but took only less than 2% of the sockeye salmon run.

This photo was taken in the early 1970s, as native people continued to fish despite brutal arrests and harassment. Here they maintained an armed encampment to protect the fishermen at their nets. Now the courts have ruled that the native people were, in fact, correct in exercising their rights.

State of Washington officials said they would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Non-Indian fishermen reacted to the decision with surprise and dismay. "It's a catastrophe," said Puget Sound Gillnetters Association member Loren Bergh. "This is certainly adverse to the [U.S.] Constitution. The fishermen are certainly going to suffer imminent bankruptcy."

Gillnetters President Phil Sutherland said their petition to the Supreme Court would allege that the Boldt decision discriminates in favor of Indians, and makes them "super-citizens."

Indians were elated by the confirmation of the Boldt decision, for they had maintained through years of bloodshed and jailings and harassment that they had the right to fish. Attorneys for tribal councils indicated it was unlikely that the U.S. Supreme Court would accept the matter for review.

Boldt himself was pleased with the appeals court decision. Following his original ruling, he had been picketed and hanged in effigy during protests by angry commercial non-Indian fishers. When he heard of the ruling, he reflected that "for more than a century the people of this area have been subjected to frequent and often violent disagreements between Indians and non-Indians over treaty rights fishing, which has caused deep distrust and animosity on both sides." He hoped that the appeals decision would be a "giant stride forward toward rulings of law and reason rather than bitterness and strife in determining the serious problems that remain to be solved."

The Indian case had been handled by the U.S., acting in trust, against the state. Story has it that when news reached Washington that Indian fishing rights had been re-affirmed, a top-level government official reacted angrily, charging his staff to prepare an appeal. "We can't," he was answered. "We won." *(AIPA)*

CHILOQUIN FAMILY REFUSES $103,000 FROM U.S., WANTS 640-ACRES INSTEAD

Klamath Falls, Oregon – The U.S. Congress voted in 1954 to stop recognizing the Klamath Nation as a people, and since then, has compensated them large sums of money for lands formerly classed as reservation.

On March 1, 200 Klamaths voted unanimously at a meeting here to circulate and sign petitions to Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon Republication, asking him to introduce legislation which would repeal their termination, and reinstate their full tribal rights.

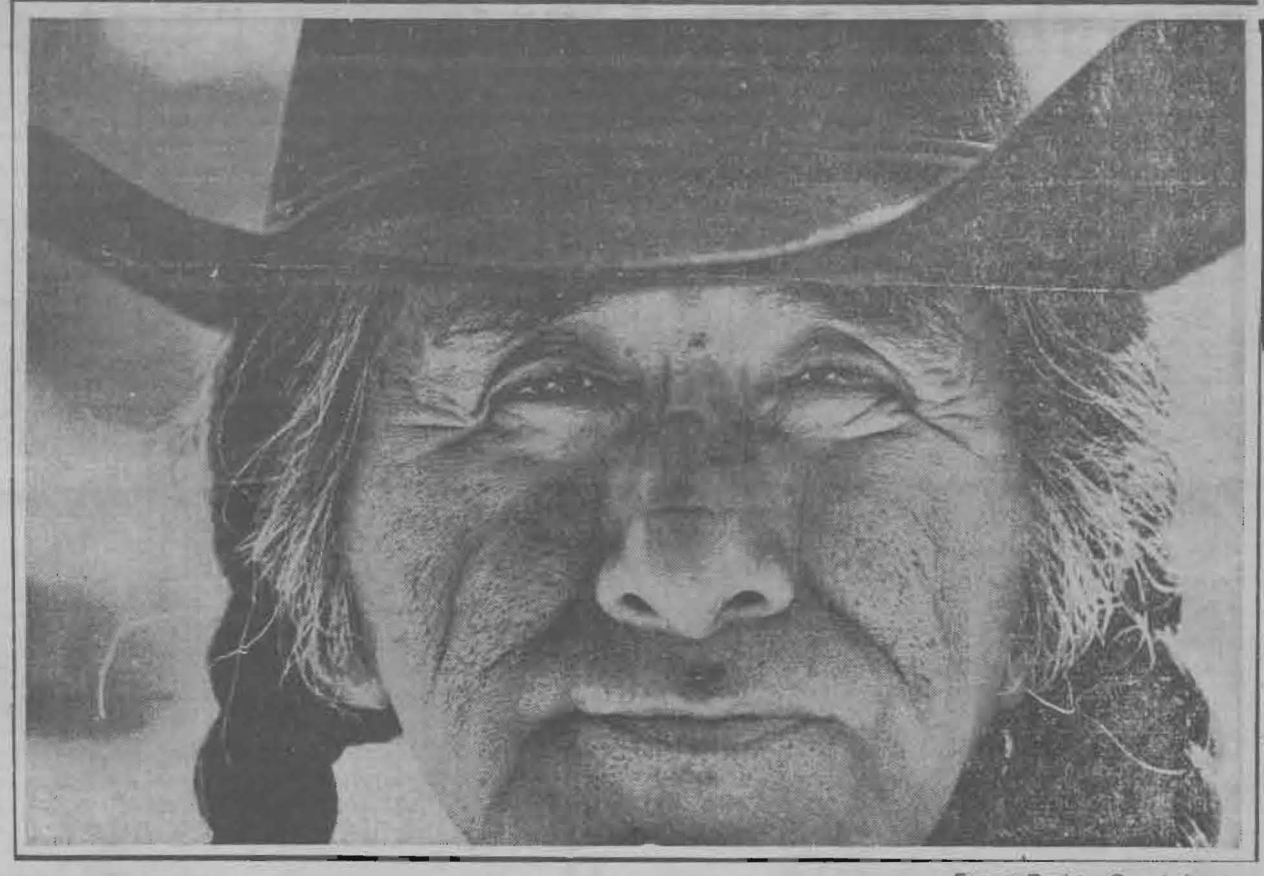
This time, a financial advisory service was set up to prevent disastrous spending sprees. Everyone has their favorite story about the months of drunken brawls and exploitation by businessmen after the 1961 booty was disbursed. One woman is said to have bought a new Oldsmobile, forgot where she parked it, and so she bought another one.

Not all the Klamath's were frivolous then, nor were they this time. Ten persons went together and became half-owner of the Klamath Falls Town and Country Shopping Center, for instance.

Edison Chiloquin, an hereditary chief, has been unswayed by all the maneuvering. He steadfastly has refused to accept his check for $103,000, saying it would be like "selling my people, my dead people."

Chiloquin is attempting to get a square mile – 640 acres – of the land now under control of the U.S. Forest Service, set aside so he can build an ancestral village. The property was once owned by his family. Friends of Chiloquin are urging Senator Hatfield to sponsor a bill which would give Chiloquin the land instead of a check.

"Never! I will never cash that check. Never!" Chiloquin says calmly, but firmly, as he watches some of his neighbors frolic with their new snowmobiles and shiny pick-ups, purchased with their shares.



– Eugene Register-Guard photo

Further information and petitions supporting Edison Chiloquin's land quest can be gotten from:
Chiloquin Fund
POBox 1961
Klamath Falls, Oregon 97601

STILLAGUAMISH PEOPLE STILL SEEKING RECOGNITION; ESTHER ROSS CARRIES ON HALF–CENTURY OF STRUGGLE

Mt. Vernon, Washington – The Stillaguamish Tribe announced in June that it would create problems for the Bicentennial Wagon Train when the wagons circled for the night at Island Crossing in western Washington. While the plans for the ambush were called off after negotiations with federal officials, the struggling Stillaguamish people did get some valuable publicity – and so did the Wagon Train.

Frank Allen, a tribal spokesman, said the Stillaguamish people have been trying to get the Secretary of Interior to "recognize" them, a legal designation opening the way for federal programs and protection for trust lands.

The Wagon Train started its 3,000-mile journey eastward early in June when it rolled through the U.S./Canadian Peace Arch at Blaine, Washington. It plans to arrive at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, on July 4, 1976. Over 2,000 persons, many riding their own horses, started off the train. Other state wagons will join along the way as the train moves south to Oregon over the Barlow Trail and Oregon Trail, ending with wagons from all 50 states converging on Valley Forge next July 4. The train itself consists of just three Conestoga wagons.

The train's itinerary called for a stop near the tribe's combination office and souvenir store – "just an arrow's flight away," as the Associated Press termed it.

Wagon Train officials were reportedly delighted with the plans for the ambush, and officials let the word out that they were negotiating with other Indian groups along the way for similar "ambushes."

Ramona Bennett, tribal leader of the Puyallups, dismissed an invitation that her people dress up in old-time warrior garb and stage an attack on the covered waggons. She said the invitation was a ridiculous insult to the Indian community.

The Stillaguamish activity has been spearheaded by the chairman of the tribal council, Esther Ross, who is still virtually unknown despite years of strenuous efforts on behalf of her people. She has worked for a half-century on tribal matters, including carring the issues to Washington as part of the National Poor Peoples Campaign of 1968.

–AP Wirephoto

Esther Ross, 72, Stillaguamish leader, issues plea for recognition of her people by the U.S. to visiting members of the wagon train celebrating the U.S. Biccentennial.

Esther Ross also joined in a landmark suit against the U.S. Department of Agriculture in which the court found it unlawful for the U.S. to withhold some $290-million authorized for us e in the commodities and food stamps programs when people went hungry. This case has set a foundation for more expansive decisions. She also helped initiate the form and treatment of a national task force inquiry on native problems at the community level.

Although local, state, and area BIA officials often undid her work as rapidly as she made gains in Washington, she persisted. When Esther returned from D.C. with papers declaring federal recognition of her tribe, BIA officials delighted in going to meetings with new documents declaring that her previous papers had been rescinded.

She has steadily faced BIA opposition to the Stillaguamish Tribe coming into any lands, and she had to fight heavy BIA opposition to maintaining a land claims settlement in a common tribal fund – the BIA wanted the monies paid out in per capita checks of less than $500 rather than to have the tribe have a nest-egg which would keep the people together.

The standard excuse of the BIA for denying recognized tribal status to the Stillaguamish has been that they "lack the requisite land base." But when Esther Ross's husband repeatedly requested the BIA to transfer title to his Indian trust lands to Esther, without waiting for his death, he was refused. Then, under peculiar circumstances, the BIA processed papers some days before Arnold Ross' death last year which would forever deny his wife ownership of his lands.

When tribal chief Gus Smith left a tract of land through a will to the "Stillaguamish Indian Tribe, to be held in trust by the United States of America for their use and purposes," legal beagles raised the Catch 22: could Gus Smith leave his land to a "non-existent body" – for until they have land, they cannot "legally exist" in the eyes of the BIA.

SURVIVOR OF "THE LAST MASSACRE" LEARNS WHAT HAPPENED TO HER PEOPLE

Yakima, Washington -Mary Joe Estep is 65 years old now. She had always been told her parents had been killed in a massacre of Shoshones. Thanks to a novelist, Dayton O. Hyde, doing research for his book, "The Last Free Man," she now knows the details of how she came to be a survivor of one of the last old-style massacres of native people.

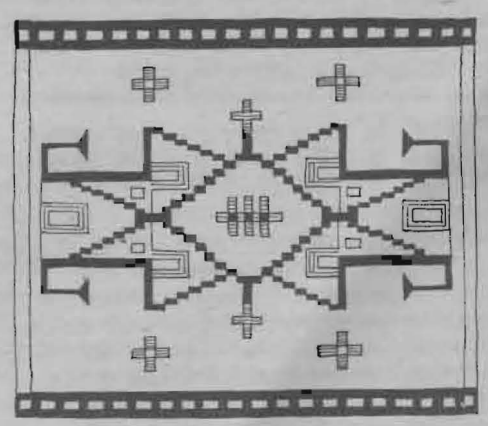
It was 1911 when her mother, father, grandfather and seven other members of her community were massacred by a posse of whites in the desolate sagebrush country of northern Nevada near Winnemuca.

She was then one year old then. She was taken from the back of her dead mother to live with a white family.

The account of the massacre is that her grandfather, Shoshone Mike, lived in a canyon near Twin Falls, Idaho. In 1910, he was charged with horse stealing, a charge later proven unfounded. Mike and his band fled West, believing they were being pursued – which they were not. They made their way to California, then across the Sierra Mountains into Nevada. They holed up in a canyon, and were soon confronted with one of the worse winters in Nevada history.

The group lived on butchered beef until they were discovered by ranchers. Fighting erupted, and the ranchers were killed. The Shoshones fled, chased for more than 300 miles through Nevada Territory by a large posse. The posse attacked when the group was sleeping – only four children survived.

The youngsters were taken to the Carson Indian School, where they remained a short time. Evan Estep, superintendent of the Indian agency at Fort Hall, Idaho, came to the school, and took the children back to Fort Hall, where the three older ones died of tuberculosis.



"They never talked about what happened," Mary Jo Estep says of her adoptive parents. "I knew my parents had been killed in a massacre, but that's all – I never asked." *[Associated Press information.]*

OUR-OWN-PUBLICATIONS

I am an artist

I paint pictures of love
upon the fallen leaves . . .
words brimming with colour
are left on mushrooms for
travellers of the wood
to read . . .

NATIVE COLOURS, a book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Karoniaktatie was poetry editor for AKWESASNE NOTES. We are proud to publish this book, illustrated and designed by the poet – a visually-beautiful & colorful presentation. 88 pages. $2.50 postpaid.

Available at discount in quantities.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS PAPER

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs $5,000 and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc. will add almost $2,000 more – and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive. We are not funded by foundations, government, or universities.

Our money comes mostly in small donations from readers. Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If youwant to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

Some of Our Publications

A Hard Look at American Catholic Folklore: A pamphlet with two articles by Richard Lundstrom, "Mohawks, Martyrs and Myths," and "For If the Indian Peoples Die, Who Among Us Deserve to Live?" Just 25 cents for a copy of these reprints from NOTES. Church groups are buying them by the hundreds for lively discussion at 40% discount, for any large quantity.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Any More – *$1.95*
the story of the Trail of Broken Treaties group which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington D.C. in 1972. The book also contains the Twenty Point position paper presented to the White House which would revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships – plus the White House reply, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard throughout the 1970s, and needs to be understood – and acted upon – by every American and every native person. 8½ x 11, 96 pp., paperback.

Declaration of Barbados:
This pamphlet should be discussed thoroughly by all students of anthropology – college and campus bookstores should let the anthro department know it is in your stock. Church officials – and all concerned people – will find it of interest too. It discusses the role of non-native scholars and missionaries with the native people. 25 cents.

A Message to All People: The Hopi Prophecy:
A spiritual message as old and timeless as the land. Illustrated. A warning – with hope – of interest to all human beings. $1.00.

CALENDAR

1975 CALENDARS ARE STILL AVAILABLE – the poster portion alone is worth the price, covering various ideals of the Old Ways with a quotation and beautiful drawing for each, one for each month. The calendar is large, 17 x 22, and they will not be reprinted. Available immediately at $3 postpaid in a cardboard mailing tube.

Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES

1 *South America*

2 *Chief Joseph*

3 *Wounded Knee*

4 *Longhouse to Kiva*

5 *Zuni Governor*

6 *Sitting Bull*

7 *Three Sisters*

8 *Grandma Hunter*

9 *Poundmaker*

10 *Shackled Native*

11 *Family Portrait*

12 *Three Horsemen*

13 *Fire Carrier*

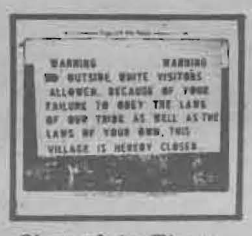
14 *La Raza*

15 *Dan Katchongva*

16 *Our Ideas*

22 *Campesinos* 23 *Wintu Woman* 24 *Shrine of Hypocrisy*

17 *Statue of Liberty*


WARNING WARNING
NO OUTSIDE WHITE VISITORS
ALLOWED. BECAUSE OF YOUR
FAILURE TO OBEY THE LAWS
OF OUR TRIBE AS WELL AS THE
LAWS OF YOUR OWN, THIS
VILLAGE IS HEREBY CLOSED.
Signs of the Times
18

19 *Flathead Chief*

20 *Rush-Gatherer*

21 *Beer-Belly*

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows – 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $25.
Order from AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

INDIGENA PAMPHLET SERIES

INDIGENA people cooperate with AKWESASNE NOTES in the publication, of pamphlets on the native peoples of the Americas. Besides that, INDIGENA has a publication of their own available from POBox 4073, Berkeley, California.

From NOTES, the following three pamphlets are available for 25 cents each (quantity discounts available):

THE SITUATION OF INDIAN PEOPLES IN GUATEMALA: reprinted in this issue. A new pamphlet. A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by those who have taken on another way and foreign interests.

THE INDIAN SITUATION IN BRAZIL TODAY: Outlines the nature of the genocidal war being waged against native people of the Amazon. Destruction of communities is documented. Reprinted from Journal do Brazil.

THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN COLOMBIA: a strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s, and like the others in this series, illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry, legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto of the women.

SIX NATIONS MUSEUM PAMPHLET SERIES

THE MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS: Pictographic writing, and text in English with some handsome drawings of Iroquois life, detailing a chapter of North American history – how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. 50 cents.

WAMPUM BELTS: photographs of reproductions of the Iroquois wampum belts, with a text explaining the meanings read in each. An interesting way to learn native history. $1.50.

COSTUME OF THE IROQUOIS: this illustrated book describes in detail how to make the clothing which is traditional with the Iroquois people. $1.50.

VISIT SIX NATIONS MUSEUM
AT ONCHIOTA, NEW YORK
(near Saranac Lake)

THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE

This is the Iroquois Constitution, giving the law that tells the way that has been followed in Iroquois councils for a thousand years now. It was this government that gave many ideas to the Founding Fathers of the U.S. in drawing up the U.S. Constitution.

This translation into English is illustrated by Kahonhes. 84 pages, $1.00.

RESOURCES

TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00
90 minutes – $11.00

SOUNDINGS FROM AKWESASNE: The history of the Longhouse and occupation of islands in the St. Lawrence River in 1970. 30 minutes.

SELF DETERMINATION, COLONIALISM, AND CAPTIVE NATIONS: "How can we re-liberate without becoming one of the conquerers when we achieve it?" When power alone determines what you can do, it is a disease that spreads." The history of the past five centuries is the history of conquest od democraticfolk societies by Machivellian greed-based conquerors. But the conquest came after 4,000 years of resistance which continues today. A lecture by Dr. Jack Forbes. 45 minutes.

HARRY BELAFONTE: tells an AIM rally in St. Paul that his freedom depends upon the freedom of the native peoples. A man who left his career as a singer to assist in electoral politics explains how Wounded Knee changed his own perspective on America. 30 minutes.

STOKELY, AIM, & YOU: Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC organizer and now with the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party headquartered in West Africa, came to give his support to the Wounded Knee defendants in St. Paul. This program is a recording of speeches by William Kunstler, Russell Means, and Stokely on the meaning of revolution, the relationship between the Third World and native peoples of North America. 60 minutes.

BUFFY STE. MARIE: talks with Brunelda Wheeler and describes her childhood and her return to her community on the prairies. She stresses the importance of each person finding their own way in the native world. 15 minutes.

GOD IS RED: A TALK BY VINE DELORIA, Jr., Lakota philosopher and attorney, on the necessity of native religious values for the Indian movement and for the future of North America. 30 minutes.

A PLACE THAT'S FOREVER. History of the Iroquois Confederacy produced for CBC by AKWESASNE NOTES. Includes an account of the origins of the White Roots of Peace by Sakokwenonkwas and his own understanding of the prophecies, recollections of Emily General, respected grandmother and activist from Grand River Country; and an analysis by Rarihokwats, editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. 60 minutes.

THE ASSAULT ON OGLALA. Adapted from a broadcast by Natasha and Ralph Friar for WBAI in New York. Interviews by telephone of residents of Pine Ridge immediately after the killing of two FBI agents and Little Joe Stuntz at Oglala on June 26, 1975. Tells the story the media could have reported – and didn't. Includes interviews at a support rally in New York City. 90 minutes.

(a tape catalog is available on request listing many more titles available)

RUSSELL MEANS TALKS: about the AIM patrol in Minneapolis which got the organization underway; AIM's relationship to the church, plus a statement of AIM's spiritual foundation. 30 minutes.

GLADYS BISSONETTE, LOU BEAN & GRACE BLACKELK – Three Oglala women active in the occupation tell of reservation conditions and their fight for self-determination. 45 minutes.

NATIVE PEOPLE'S CARAVAN & EMBASSY: If anyone still believes the myth that Canada's relationship with native people is les violent than that of other imperial nations, this program will help them to re-evaluate the armed truce. It traces the origins of the Native People's Caravan which reached Ottawa on September 30, 1974, and culminated in the first use of Canada's RCMP riot squad. Also on the founding of the Native People's Embassy. 30 minutes.

WILLIE DUNN: Stereo folksinging of Willie Dunn, a Micmac/Metis folksinger, with a Grass Dance Song & Chief's Song by Jerry Saddleback. Includes Ballad of Crowfoot from the film of the same name plus Louis Riel, Charlie Wenjack, School Days, Crazy Horse, The Carver. Full album. $5.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA LAND CLAIM – The Indian peoples of B.C., after pressing their land claim for 98 years, have gained some recognition of their claim through the courts and the Canadian Parliament in 1973. This tape reviews the claim, the court decision in the Nishga case, and the government response as background to what is happening in B.C. right now. 60 minutes.

THREE MESSAGES FROM RAY FADDEN: History of the Iroquois Confederacy, Contributions of Indians, Problems, by the elder of the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota, New York. Excellent for schools. 45 minutes.

NEW LISTINGS

JOHN TRUDELL: ON COMMITMENT. One of the founders of AIM, John Trudell says that when talking about self-discipline for AIM, commitment becomes a number-one priority. This is a call for native people to get it all together and to participate in the struggles against oppression. 15 minutes.

RESTORATION IS A LONG ROAD. Ada Deer, a Menominee, tells of her experiences as a Washington lobbyist working within the legislative process to gain restoration for her people. She relates the political history of native people with special emphasis on the Menominee. Also included is an exclusive interview by Kevin McKiernan with Mel Chevalier, Jr., a member of the Menominee Warrior Society which occupied the Alexian Brothers Novitiate on January 1, 1975, to spark a debate about Menominee treaty rights. 90 minutes.

GANIENKEH, 1975. Fourteen months after the establishment of a Mohawk camp in the traditional homeland, the natural people are still there, prepared to stay for generations to come. Legal confrontations over their seizure of a site in the Adirondack Park still loom ahead. Produced by Akwesasne Notes in conjunction with Ganienkeh Communications. 60 minutes.

RAMONA BENNETT/PUYALLUP NATION. A relevant message of her people by a leader of her nation, and the struggle to build a life on the last remaining treaty right – the right to fish. The account of the struggle of the people – and the fish – for survival. 30 minutes.

THE POETRY OF GARY SNYDER. Gary Snyder, a long-time spokesman for the natural world, reads his poetry at a benefit for the Committee of Concern for the Traditional Indian at Glide Church in San Francisco. Included are many selections from his recent book, "Turtle Island," which earned for him the 1975 Pulitzer Prize in poetry. Also included are two poems by Mohawk poet Peter Blue Cloud, "Last Boat to Alcatraz" and "Coyote Man and the Young Lady". Recorded ~~January~~ 19, 1973. 60 minutes.

MICROFILM

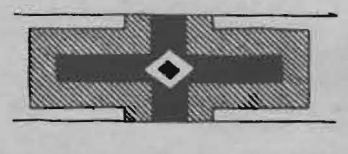
AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm & microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co.,
Underground Press Microphoto Division
Old Mansfield Road
Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.
Route 100,
Milwood, New York 10546

University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road,
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452



THROUGH ARAWAK EYES a stereo, long-playing album of songs by David Campbell, Arawak folksinger, with ballads about native and other oppressed peoples in the Americas. $5.00, Also available: an illustrated book of songs and poetry to go with the album, with notation for guitar. $2.50. The Toronto Globe & Mail *said this about the album: "His gentle ballads are sung more in sadness than in anger and are a reminder that all is still not well in race relations. . .He sings in a firm and vibrant voice with limited accompaniment of Canada's native people's struggles in the James Bay area, of the resettlement of Amerindian natives in Brazil, and of migrant workers in Canada's orchards. . ." Contains 13 songs, including to-be-classics Splinters of the Tree, Kodid, and No, Not Columbus. Highly recommended listening.*

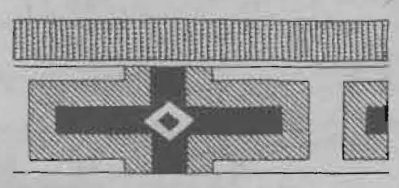
VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE

The third printing of this book is ready, and because it is almost all sold out by advance orders, another printing is already on order. Thank you for your patience in waiting – your books will be received at about the same time as this issue.

There will be a few hundred leftover copies, so if you don't have your own copy, order one now to avoid waiting. It's $4.95, almost 300 pages, and several hundred photos.

And if there is a bookstore in your area that doesn't carry VOICES, tell them they're missing a good bet. Usual discounts are available.

This is what one magazine had to say about VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE:



. . . even after merely scanning the album-like wealth of photographs and captions, you will have a much greater understanding of what was going on out there in South Dakota. One thing you will understand better is the surging new spirit that carried this small group through the long siege by massively-equipped U.S. forces. This is a beautiful book. . . an excellent buy at $4.95.

– North Country Anvil

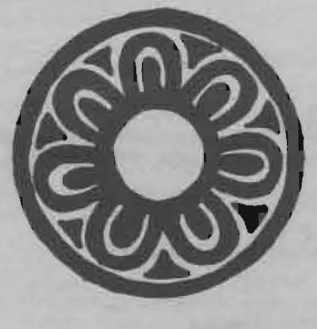
PRINTER'S OVER-RUN

We have some extra copies of some recent back issues – they're bundled up five copies of each of four editions, and available for $3 postpaid. (That's 20 copies).

This is a good chance to distribute AKWESASNE NOTES to a class, a church group, around the reservation, to friends.

But the offer is good only as long as the papers last, first come, first serve.

Be sure to specify "printer's overrun" when you order.



INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK – blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos – is available from us. It is mixed, packed, and shipped from the Mohawk Nation. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are $1.15 each, or 3 for $3.15, postage-paid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼ or ½-pound pouch.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos – just barks, roots, leaves, herbs.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the 6 blends for $25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted any time.

Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

BACK ISSUES

Back issues are available for some editions for 50 cents each.

Fourteen are still in print – all available back issues can be obtained for $6.00.

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

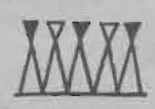
Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print – numbers 3,4,5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3,4,5,6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) has had three issues, including this one, and all are still available. This is the 46th issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.



HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE NOTES

. . . ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies. . . leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, workplace, tribal office. . . sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment and you send us 35 cents for each copy sold – or order a packet of 6 for $2 prepaid or 20 for $5 prepaid. GET THE WORD OUT.

EXTRA COPIES of this issue are available for single copy orders, or for bulk distribution and resale. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and is also good for fund-raising. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each – you pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For $5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation. For $25, a reservation group could see that 100 homes each received a copy.

By whatever means, we urge each person reading this to consider ways by which the information in this paper can reach the most possible people.

RESOURCES

BOOKS

This is a partial listing of books available through AKWESASNE NOTES. Still more titles were listed in the last issue, and more titles will be listed in the next issue.

Multiple copies of any title sold by NOTES are available for resale at discounts of 20% for books from other publishers, and 40% for our own publications. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use a book or pamphlet – or for individuals and bookstores who want to resell books to their customers.

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WHAT'S HAPPENING

THE AMERICAN INDIAN: THE FIRST VICTIM edited by Jay David. Life, suffering, and hopes by native writers. A collection of articles and essays. $2.25.

DISPOSSESSING THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Wilbur Jacobs. $7.95 for the hardcover edition, the only one now available. The confrontation of natives and Europeans during the colonial area, told with full (and devastating) objectivity. Details the tenacious struggle of the eastern nations to keep their lands good. For comparison, one chapter describes native experience in Australia and New Guinea as waves of Europeans invaded those lands.

INDIAN IN AMERICA'S PAST edited by Jack D. Forbes. $1.95. Using varied sources, Jack Forbes recalls five centuries of slavery, injustice, devastating cruelty in one of the most brutal examples in human history. Also records problems faced by Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Canadian Metis.

PATRIOT CHIEFS by Alvin M. Josephy Jr. $2.75. A chronicle of American Indian resistance. The life stories of nine leaders, fighting their cause – and not selling out to the invaders.

RED POWER: American Indians' Fight for Freedom. A collection by Alvin Josephy Jr. $2.95 paper. Documentation of the current struggles through 1970.

TO DIE GAME by W. McKee Evans. $8.95, hardcover only. The story of the Lowry Band, Indian guerillas of Reconstruction Days in North Carolina.

UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. $2.95.

HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW by Felix S. Cohen. The unexpurgated 1939 edition. A heavy hardcover reference volume for libraries, tribal councils, attorneys. $25.00.

UNJUST SOCIETY by Harold Cardinal. $2.95 paper. A young Cree leader, president of the Indian Association of Alberta, issues a manifesto to overthrow the tragedy of Canada's native situation.

INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION by the National Indian Brotherhood. $2.00, paper. A yet-to-be-implemented policy paper presented to Canada's Minister of Indian Affairs.

INVOLVEMENT. A special native children's issue of a journal of child-care with articles by teachers, psychologists, social workers with tender concern for children. Beautiful photographs. (A Browndale Quarterly.) $1.25.

THE JAMES BAY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: A Trojan Horse, by Dorothy Rosenberg & Lucia Kowaluk. A pamphlet reprinted from *Our Generation* describing how this project is as disastrous for white folk as it is for the native people who will be displaced. 25 cents.

LOUIS RIEL by George Stanley. 400 p., paper, $4.95. The life of the founder of Manitoba, the leader of the Metis, and one of the most remarkable figures of Canadian history, whose dream still lives.

POUNDMAKER by Norma Sluman, hardcover, $7.95. Life of a great Cree orator and peacemaker who lived in the mid-1800s. 301 pages.

RESERVATIONS ARE FOR INDIANS by Heather Robertson. $2.95, paper. A factual report of life as Canada's native peoples are forced to live it, sometimes pretty unpleasantly. The book revolves around four native communities.

SITTING BULL: The Years in Canada by Grant McEwan. Most people don't know Sitting Bull and thousands of Sioux were exiled in Canada for years after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. This is an (incomplete) essay of Canadian/American/Indian history. $8.95 hardcover only.

STRANGE EMPIRE by Joseph Howard. $5.95, paper. An important, highly readable biography of Louis Riel and the story of nation-building in the Prairies.

POEMS, SHORT STORIES, LEGENDS

FOR NO ONE KNOWS WASWANIPI by Hugo Miller. $2.75. A collection of songs and poems about the inland Cree of James Bay.

THE INDIANS' BOOK recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis. A standard work in ethnomusicology with 149 songs in full notation and other material on native cultures. 585 p., $5.00.

THE MAN TO SEND RAIN CLOUDS edited by Kenneth Rosen. Eighteen short stories by native writers sounding insistent drums of tradition. Great reading. Hardcover only, $6.95.

SWEETGRASS: A Modern Anthology of Indian Poetry by Orville, Wayne and Ronald Keon. 156 p., $2.50, illustrated. A unique volume by a family of poets. Uneven, but with some strong pieces.

THE TRICKSTER, recorded by Paul Radin. The uninhibited raucous episodes of the Winnebago Trickster cycle. Analyses by Radin, Kerenyl and Jung. $2.95. Good adult bedtime tales with plenty of meaning.

Go away, Indian,
disappear
No one wants you
You do not fit
into our computers
Our programmes
and progress.
You say something
Even in your silence
That we don't want
to hear.

– For No One Knows Waswanipi

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BEAUTY CREATED

AMERICAN INDIAN AND ESKIMO BASKETRY: A Key to Identification by Charles Miles and Pierre Bovis. $3.00 hardcover, special offer.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN by Bill Holm, 93 p., paperback, $4.95. The catalog of the Sidney Gerber Collection of Northwest Coast Indian Art in the Burke Washington Staxe Museum. Photographs.

DESIGNS FROM PRE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. 300 designs, 105 p., paper, $1.50. A treasury of unique designs found on malacates.

INDIAN MASKS & MYTHS OF THE WEST by Joseph Wherry. Ancient masks which make the universe tolerable in a cynical age. An effort to recall ancient faith and prayer. Hardcover only, special offer $5.00.

MONUMENTS IN CEDAR: The Authentic Story of the Totem Pole by Edward Keithahn. Originally published at $12.50, but now $3.95. 150 photos, hardcover. A pictorial account of the history and meanings of potlatch and mortuary poles, house posts, ceremonial bowls, masks of the native people of the Pacific Northwest.

PICTURE WRITING OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS by Garrick Mallery. A reprint of an 1889 Bureau of American Ethnology report. About 1300 illustrations and 54 plates. Two volumes, each $5.00.

PRIMITIVE ART by Franz Boas. The definitive analysis of fundamental traits of primary people's art, including a 115-page study of the art of the North Pacific Coast. More than 320 photos and diagrams. $3.00.

PUEBLO POTTER: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primative Art. 160 pages, 38 color plates and hundreds of two-color illustrations, paperbound, $3.00. How the personal element is expressed in a time-honored structure of symbolism.

TSIMSHIAN INDIANS AND THEIR ARTS by Viola Garfield and Paul Wingert. A study of a creative culture and the role of art in life. 91 pages, paperback, illustrated, $2.95.

THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska by Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest. 67 photos and the legends to go with each pole. Where literature and art combine. $3.95.

SPIRITUAL MATTERS

GHOST DANCE RELIGION by James Mooney. $3.45. Written 1892-93 for the Bureau of American Ethnology. Still stands as a model of observation and sympathetic interpretation.

JOURNEY TO IXTLAN: The Lessons of Don Juan. The third volume of the four-volume series by Carlos Castaneda. $2.95, paper.

A SEPARATE REALITY: Further Conversations with Don Juan by Carlos Castaneda. $1.25, paper. Still more hallucenogenic-spun philosophy.

MEDICINE POWER by Brad Steiger. $2.95 paper. Sometimes right on, sometimes hokey accounts of past and present native mystics and prophets on man's future.

IWGIA SERIES

The International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs is a non-political and non-religious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries. Its core is a group of anthropologists of many nations who publish a series of pamphlets of case studies which are valuable as resources, and for use by anthropology classes.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS, co-published by AKWESASNE NOTES. A statement on the role of anthropologists and churches in preventing oppression. 8 pages, 25 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE AMAZON: THE CAMPA CASE by John Bodley, 15 pages, 40 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION 957-1973) 44 pages, $1.20.

THE URGENT SITUATION OF THE CUIVA INDIANS OF COLUMBIA by Bernard Arcand. 28 pages, 70 cents.

THE ANATOMY OF A LAND INVASION SCHEME IN YEKUNA TERRITORY, VENEZUELA by Walter Coppens. 24 pages, 70 cents.

THE ACHE INDIANS: GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY by Mark Munzel, 82 pages, $1.80.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE YE'CUANA ["Macquiritare"] POLITICAL SYSTEM: Stability and Crisis. 24 pages by Nelly Arvelo Jiminez. 70 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE ALTO MARANON: THE ARARUNA CASE by Henning Siverts. 82 pages. $1.80.

THE BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Example of the Xingu National Park by Carmen Junqueira. How the Brazilian Government violates its own policies causing the extermination of native peoples. $1.00.

[Other pamphlets are in transit now from Denmark, and will be added to the list upon their arrival.]

THE PEOPLE OF THE LONGHOUSE

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS by Cadwallader Colden (1727). 181 p., paper, $2.45. Fascinating reading by a colonial scholar discussing religion, manners, customs, laws and forms of government of the Iroquois some two centuries ago.

IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elizabeth Tooker. 179 p., hardcover, $7.50. Although the author approaches the ceremony as if writing a cookbook, there is valuable information around which readers can instill the proper spirit.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymount. 296 p., hardcover, $11.50. Although from a non-Indian perspective, a useful scholarly work.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan. 461 p., paper, $3.95. Over a century ago, Morgan wrote this classic account with much useful information.

THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE. The Iroquois Constitution. See our own publications section for details. $1.

MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS. How the Iroquois came to the St. Lawrence Valley. See our own publications section for details. 50 cents.

COSTUME OF THE IROQUOIS. A Six Nations Museum publication (see that section for details.) $1.50.

WAMPUM BELTS. A Six Nations Museum publication (see that section for details.) $1.50.

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BLUE CLOUD ABBEY SERIES

A Benedictine abbey in South Dakota puts out some of the nicest pamphlets suitable for pleasant reading at home or in schools. Each is beautifully designed, about 12 pages in length. They are 25 cents each, or six (our choice) for $1.25. Titles are:

A STORY FROM CHARLIE as told to Sister Susan. In calligraphy, from Turtle Mountain.

THE CREATOR HAS MADE THE WORLD – COME AND SEE IT. A collection of short essays and prayers.

BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE – songs and photos of the Indian situation, from the old Buffy.

SMALL EYES' LAST HUNT – a fine short story to read to grandchildren, or to grandparents.

GERONIMO: a graphic poem.

PERSONAL POEMS TO AMERICAN INDIANS – poetry by ten authors.

NORTHWEST COAST SONGS – free adaptations by David Cloutier based on traditional texts.

MANABOZHO POEMS – poems about one of the great heroes of the eastern native people, by Joe Bruchac.

ACCOUNTS OF MANY NATIONS

BOOK OF THE ESKIMOS written by Peter Freuchen, an explorer whose own philosophy salts that of his hosts. An earthy, jolly book of a people and a man. 95 cents.

ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS OF PERU by J. Alden Mason. $3.25 paper. A summary of the present knowledge regarding the development and nature of the civilizations of Peru. Well-illustrated.

MACHINE-AGE MAYA by Manning Nash. $1.95, paper. How a Guatemalan mountain community adapted to the operation of Central America's largest textile mill located in its midst.

APACHE, NAVAHO AND SPANIARD by Jack D. Forbes, $7.95 hardcover. Greatly details history of the Southern Athapascans and their relations with other native peoples and the invading Spanish Empire from 1540 to 1698. Rich with footnotes & surprising information.

THE CHEYENNE INDIANS by George Bird Grinnell. First published in 1923. Volume One is on history, old-time ways, village life, camp customs. Volume Two includes warrior societies, religious beliefs, disease, ceremonials. $3.00 for each volume, 420 pages total.

CHEYENNE MEMORIES by John Stands in Timber. $2.25 paper. The recounting of Cheyenne traditions by the self-appointed keeper of the oral literature of that nation.

CHICKASAWS by Arrell M. Gibson. $8.95, hardcover. The first book-length history of the Chickasaw Nation, recounting their 350-year struggle to maintain their identity.

INDIANS OF THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST edited by Tom McFeat. $2.95, paper. Seventeen anthropologists go at it on the coast, telling how they see it from the Canadian border to southeastern Alaska. Some have insight, others not much, but the richness of life shines through.

INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST by Philip Drucker. $2.50, paper. A comprehensive study of The People who lived from Yakutat Bay in Alaska to the northern coast of California. Illustrated with over 70 drawings and photographs. A Natural History Library volume.

THE NAVAHO by Kluckhohn and Leighton. $2.50, paper. A readable account of the present economic situation, religion, and social structure of this large nation. Illustrated. A Natural History Library Volume.

OJIBWA WOMAN: Male & Female Life Cycles Among the Ojibwa Indians of Western Ontario by Ruth Landes. 245 pages, $2.25. An ethnologic field study rather than the view of a participant, but with some valuable insights.

PENOBSCOT MAN by Frank G. Speck. $12.50, hardcover only. The story of Penobscot life: shelter, hunting, fishing, travel, food, arts and social life.

RISE & FALL OF THE CHOCTAW REPUBLIC by Angie Debo. $7.95, hardcover only. One of "The Five Civilized Tribes" and how it was forced to migrate from the south to Oklahoma, and their efforts in the latter half of the last century to maintain an autonomous government.

THE SAN CARLOS STORY & UPDATE: a compilation of articles in the Arizona Daily Star on the hard times and corruption and situation of the Apaches. $1.75.

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE by Paul Radin. Written in the early 1900s. 500 pages of information as told by The People. $5.00.

WOODLAND INDIANS by Robert & Pat Ritzenthaler. $1.95, paper. The culture of an area with its own form of color and drama, demonstrated by word and picture. Over 50 photos. A Natural History Library volume.

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IN THEIR OWN WORDS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WINNEBAGO INDIAN transcribed by Paul Radin. A classic written in 1920 of a man, Crashing Thunder, who lived in the traditional life, became an alcoholic in the white world, and found himself again with peyote and new religious experience. $1.25, paper.

FIGHTING TUSCARORA by Chief Clinton Rickard. $10.50, hardcover only. The autobiography of the Tuscarora leader of this century, founder of the Indian Defense League of America. Photos.

GERONIMO: His Life Story. 204 p., paper, $1.25. A morality tale of terrifying relevance.

I HAVE SPOKEN compiled by Virginia Armstrong. $3.95, paper. A collection of American Indian oratory from the 17th to the 20th century. A story of friendship offered, promises broken, a whole life gone sour.

JIM WHITE WOLF: The Life of a Kiowa/Apache Indian edited by Charles Brant. An account of an Apache growing up during the abandonment and disintegration of the old customs and beliefs under white oppression.

SON OF OLD MAN HAT: A Navajo Autobiography recorded by Walter Dyk. A sensitive, frank, simple life story. $2.75.

SUN CHIEF edited by Leo Simmons. $4.50. This thick volume details the life of one contemporary Hopi man.

I, NUGLIAK, edited and translated by Maurice Metayer. An Inuit man records the contentment and struggle of his life-style. $1.25, paper, 184 p.

TO ORDER: Send check or money order to AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683 U.S.A.

LETTERS

The Cost of Freedom Fight

BROTHERS & SISTERS: My name is John Carlson. I am half Ojibway and half Swede. I've been in all the AIM actions for the fight for our people. I am now sitting in prison, doing three years for the Custer incident. I left behind my beautiful wife who was seven months pregnant. She is a Santee Sioux – our baby is now four months old and her name is Prairie Dawn.

It is very sad and hard on me and my wife and child for me to be here behind bars. This is my reward for our fight for freedom. There is no one to take care of my family. My wife is too proud to live off the government. She stays with her family of nine, who live off their father's pension check. I am asking for help to support my family since I am unable to. Any group, organization, or individual contribution will be warmly accepted and deeply appreciated. Contributions can be sent to:

Mrs. Laura Carlson
332 North Spring
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101

I hope your paper has room for my plea for help for my family. Your paper is the greatest – all the brothers here look forward to receiving your paper which we all appreciate very much. Keep up the good work, and may the Great Spirit watch over and protect you and bless you.

John Carlson 17655
State Prison, Box 911
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101

The Watergate Plot

GOOD PEOPLE: We here read your latest NOTES with much interest. Maybe you can help us with the following. We are compiling all the data we can on Dorothy Hunt, wife of Watergator E. Howard Hunt. She died in a sabotaged plane crash which we have been investigating. She was a full-blooded Indian, believed descendant from Crazy Horse. We believe one of the reasons for the oil interests murdering her was the fact that she was probably sensitive to the steal of her peoples' land and oil in the Southwest. Several gas & oil industry people died with her in the plane crash. We happen to have the entire suppressed government file showing sabotage.

Her maiden name: Dorothy Wetzel, born April, 1920, Dayton, Ohio. Perhaps there is a researcher in your group that can help our researchers with an exchange of information on Dorothy Hunt. Please write. Thank you.

Sherman H. Skolnick
9800 South Oglesby Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60617

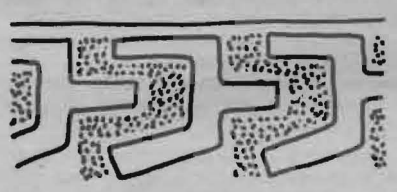
[Sherman Skolnick is the noted investigator of high conspiracy with some impressive results to his credit. The Eds.]

The All-American Rip-off

NOTES: Lately there has been a surge of public interest in Native American jewelry. Pieces crafted by southwestern Indian tribes are being sold by dealers for phenomenal prices. When one takes into account the time, talent, and personal attention that go into creating this artform, the prices are probably justifiable. However, I was curious as to exactly who was benefitting financially – from past history I could almost have guessed the answer, but I checked it out anyway.

The first place I went to was reluctant to talk about the origin of their jewelry beyond saying that it was "authentic" Indian craftsmanship. Questions about markups and the percentage that actually got back to the "authentic" Indians were left unanswered.

The second store was run by a man who answered my questions with an amusing anecdote about a turquoise necklace he priced. It was pawned in the winter of 1906 by an Indian woman who was apparently starving. She was paid $3 for it. He was asking $450. Inflation? What disturbed me most was his attitude – sure the Indians weren't getting paid anywhere near market value, but you have to take into account the middleman, he said.



Which brings me to the third store run, surprisingly enough, by a native American. When I asked him where and how he bought his merchandise, he explained the process as usually involving two or more middlemen, each of whom jacked up the price at their stage of the operation. The percentage received by the craftsman was small.

He said ideally he would like to buy directly from the people who make the jewelry, but at the present time, there is not enough organization at that level to make it possible. Has there been any interest in forming unions or cooperatives by native craftspeople? I realize that capitalism is not an Indian thing, but once again, the native American is in the position of having what the whites want, and once again, the whites are taking it.

D.E. Blagg
Winchester, Massahusetts

To Indian Mothers

NOTES: I don't think I could look my son in the face if he grows up and finds I did nothing to help my own people. There are so many connected ideas that are starting to make sense to me – our children are precious and what we do now affects the world they will inherit.

A lot of the women here have abandoned the old ways of raising children and have replaced them with white ways that are killing our people and stunting their spirit, intellect, and bodies. White people are discovering our wisdom, but some of our own people are rejecting it. They want to be white, but still they have to come to terms with their Indianness.

From the Indian women, I would like to receive your letters telling me how you are raising your children, whether you are nursing, what type of foods you feed your children, and anything you would tell me about the way your family lives.

Linda Keeper
Box 40
Fort Churchill, Manitoba R0B 0K0

A Meaningful Seminar

NOTES: There is a spirit of change and unity, and White Roots of Peace is helping. Thank you for sending them to my school – it was the most meaningful seminar I've ever attended.

B.J. Walter
Defiance, Ohio

Our Own Trade Journal

NOTES: I am enclosing a copy of a paper titled "Indian Trader" sent to me by a friend – for many years I have known that the Indian people were being ripped off, but I never knew they published a paper about it. It really wakes you up when you see what a big business getting rich off of Indian jewelry has become.

Charles E. Colcord
New York, N.Y.

Support of Life-Serving Work

NOTES: The enclosed check for $25 is given by the North Jersey War Tax Resistance/Fund for Life.

This organization was formed to divert the tax dollars of people who do not wish to contribute to the Government's life-destroying military maching, to life-serving purposes. They withhold either the Telephone War Tax or part or all of their income tax and deposit it in the Fund for Life. Contributors determine how the fund will be distributed.

We became aware of the life-serving work which you are doing through AKWESASNE NOTES. Please use this small donation in any way that will best serve Native American people, who have suffered much at the hands of the U.S. war machine.

North Jersey War Tax Resistance &
Fund For Life
147 Maplewood Ave.
Maplewood, New Jersey 07040

Boricua Libre

NOTES: I am about change – and by change, I do not mean changing my sox or my shirt or my brand of cigarettes. I believe in social change, in progress and the keeping together of the positive things of the past.

I am first a human being, then a Boricua – I am a Boricua before being a Puerto Rican. By this I mean: I uphold my first birthright and try my best to live according to the dictates of my Indian consciousness. I am first concerned with understanding my roots, my Arawak and Taino and Carib lineage, and from a firm foundation, I construct my nationality, moving into my Indo-Afro-Spanish culture and this is what makes my social consciousness.

Not many Puerto Ricans think like me – I think that I am a product of the coming consciousness, I uphold the independence of my people and am willing to protect the self-determination of any nation, whether it be an internal or external colony in pursuit of liberation.

Salvador Agron 16486
Drawer B
Stormville, New York 12582

Critical Comments on Our Impressions of Guatemala

NOTES: True, it is a long haul from the Caribbean culture of my ancestors to the Meso-American race whose home you visited [in Guatemala], but compared with North America, you must admit that my relation to the Maya, in view of the proximity of Yucatan and Cuba, the inevitable cultural exchange of social, political, and religious ideas, makes me, if not an ethnic cousin, a closer relative.

With this in mind, and with the fact in mind that my natural curiosity has led me to do some research on Maya culture, past and present, and with the fact in mind that my father is a professor of Latin American culture at a local college, I want to make a few critical comments on your article, especially the portion written by the editor.

You have always struck me as a very hard-boiled and realistic man, very aware and noticing all the realities of any situation. It comes as a surprise to me to read the things that you wrote in your article on The Maya. I am afraid that in spite of the enlightened and knowledgeable sister-article that appeared alongside yours (by Pop Caal), you have missed the whole spirit of "Maya."

The Maya people are a people whose solidly-rooted and unbelieveably ancient traditions are derived from a cultural concept diametrically opposed in basis to the cultural tradition of both your people, the North American Iroquois, and the people of your Chicano companions whose ancestors are likely to be of Northern Mexican stock. I am sure that while being somewhat of a beneficiating uniting force, you are quite aware that Pan-Indianism has the potentials of destroying the foundations of individual tribal identity. Thus I am directing my letter especially to the parts of your article where you stress the parallels between the culture of North American Native people with some Maya cultural aspects.

I mean in particular your allusion to the modern Mayas close relationship to the earth, and the so-called "natural ways". You seem to stress a separation of the pristine Indian natural life from the boogie-man culture of the "civilized" Ladino of the city. I want to call to your attention that your prolonged close contact to Western culture has obscured you from the fact that extreme civilization and its good and bad aspects come in different boxes and in different colors.

You see, while the Iroquois were still a disunited group of warring bands living in very close individual proximity to our mother the earth and her power, there were powerful sophisticated nobles living in what is now Guatemala whose features were carved, as a testimony of their power, in stone, sitting majestically upon the subservient backs of captured slaves. While my people were developing better ways to cajole my mother the earth into yielding more bountiful harvests of manioc and maize, there were Maya priests who guided by an unbelieveably complex calendar more accurate than the one we use today, sacrificed weeping children of subjected peoples into deep yawning wells where they were swallowed up forever by the cold water of the Gods. These self-same people build monuments in stone which few modern architects could produce now with the tools then available. They had a knowledge of the sky and heavenly bodies which accompanied with a finely developed mathematical knowledge kept them well ahead of comparable civilization anywhere in theworld. These, my friends, are the foundations upon which the present Maya culture is based.

I'm sorry to say that for the first time in the NOTES I have found something I consider to be grossly misleading. The modern Maya, who indeed lives in close proximity with the earth, and with nature, does not do it by choice but by force. A stronger civilization came from afar and reduced him to the state of peasantry in the same way as he once reduced his neighbors to a state of subjectivity.

It is very simple to understand why ethnic and cultural identity is much more healthy in places such as Yucatan, Guatemala, and the Andes Mountains. You see it was in these places that some of the most advanced and

sophisticated civilizations of America flourished. When the Spanish came, these cultures were so strong that there was more of a give-and-take relationship than there ever was a hope for in North America with her truly primitive tribes. Compared to the mammoth struggle which the powerful Inca empire put up against the forces of Pizzaro in Peru, the bloody wars of the Great Plains during the end of thy19th Century become insignificant skirmishes. Compared to the monumental Aztec city of Tenochtitlan, which confronted Cortez in Central Mexico, the beautiful and skillfully-built towns on the sheer cliffs of the North American Southwest become hastily-built huts.

Let's face it – there's nothing natural or close to the earth about modern Maya culture. The Maya passed from one system of highly-civilized existance to another, and this transition was in fact so smooth that their culture and tradition exists now after over three or four centuries of European domination, virtually intact, while it becomes difficult for me to find three people who could speak the Lakota tongue on my last trip to the Rosebud reservation, let alone someone who spoke only that tongue. That, I'm sorry to say, was after less than one hundred years of progressively lenient United States rule.

I don't imply in this letter that you purposely delude your readers to make a point. I only say that centuries of contact by your people with the culture of North America has clouded your eyes and not allowed you to view the people you visited with the realistic eyes which are needed. You and I and all the native people which this publication reaches have no need to fool ourselves about the Maya to feel a kinship with them. The ritual and tradition you witnessed in Chichicastenango is but a thinly-veiled Catholic echo of rites performed beneath the shadow of pyramids taller and older than the loftiest examples of Romanesque architecture of the barbaric Francs during the 9th Century of Europe. While the truly earth-oriented rites of the false faces were being performed in what is now New York State, thousands of captured victims had their still-beating hearts torn from their breasts in ritualistic Maya sacrifices reminiscent more of "civilized" Carthagenian culture than of the "primitive" Mohawk one.

The Maya gods (and they are as alive today as they were five hundred years ago) were very similar to the gods of ancient Greece and Rome. The Maya culture was based on sophisticated civilization which included a rigid stratification of classes where the lowest class was just as wronged as any low class in any civilization today, and the higher classes were as privileged as any bourgouis group of today – maybe more.

Making parallels between the simple earth-oriented cultures of the North American native peoples and the deluding remnants of ancient Meso-American cultures is simply ridiculous. It's as ridiculous as saying that because the urban London slum dweller and the fierce Kurdish mountain tribesman happen to belong to the same ethnic group (Indo-European) and are both suppressed by bourgeois systems, they are cultural brothers. They may be racial brothers fighting for social freedom just as we and the Mayas are ethnic brothers fighting for social freedom, but we are also individual cultural entities different as night and day and we should respect each others differences as we love each other for our similarities.

Pan-Indianism is destruction and in our eagerness to find bonds with our brothers and sisters in other countries, we may have a tendency to allow Pan-Indianistic concepts of North American origin cloud our eyes. Let's fight these tendencies. Civilization may be disdainful to you, but it was the pride of the people you visited. For the Maya to get back to their "roots" is not to live in simple shelters and live in harmony with mother earth – to them a true return to their roots would be the rebuilding of the majestic cities of Uxmal, Chichen Itza and Trilum! To them, the "roots" are not semi-naked laborers weeding small plots of beans and corn, but finely-robed priests who spoke from atop lofty pyramids to thousands of fervent worshippers about the Corn God and his laws, about sacrifice and of war. That priest never touched the dirt with his fingers – those fingers were for jotting down mathematical calculations and for making precise records of the path of the planets.

This is all I want to say. It is longwinded because it is difficult to explain and yet I had to get it off my chest.

Miquel Sague Jr.
Erie, Pennsylvania

[As usual, we leave it to our readers to reply to letters to the editor. We will state only that it is important that we not judge "civilizations" by European standards – the people with the biggest cities may be no better and no worse standardwise than the people of the small villages. They just each have different ways. Secondly, we intentionally did not "read up" on Guatemala before we travelled. We did not want our vision clouded with the perceptions of European writers and academics. We wanted to see what was there. And so we wrote of what we saw and heard and felt. Perhaps other readers will want to comment. The Editors.]

Tribal Sons Seek Assistance

NOTES: I have just set down a copy of AKWESASNE NOTES. All the material I read in it is superb. From front to back I was totally involved in what I was reading. Our "Tribal Sons" Indian Culture Club is just in the rebuilding stages. I thought perhaps we could get some constructive ideas for club activities and funds if any, so that the brothers here can start up our beadwork. The only way we can get any arts and crafts material in the institution is through contributions to Tribal Sons.

Thank you for helping me to become more aware of what a great compliment it is to be an Indian.

Charles Michael Raub, Secretary Tribal Sons
Washington Correctional Center Shelton, Washington 98584

Beauty of Medicine Being Made

NOTES: I especially liked the piece by Dr. Jack Forbes [on Americanism.] Here, there is little hope for our way of life. The people of this land are distant from the old way and are strangled in the chords of colonialism, capitalism and materialism.

Within the land, however, in the earth, there is still beauty. The hollowness has not destroyed the magic emanations from the world. There are many worlds, and all are one, and all ooze with hope for the earth.

Once in this land, the people lived together in villages. They hunted and gathered. They lived and perceived in the river of the lands' existence. They flowed with the world and were one with it. They worshipped the horned god, the spirit of fertility. They hallowed her name within the land, and had a cycle of ceremonies, guided by the stars. Each ceremony was a stage in the fulfillment of reaching the spirits of the world, and the world itself.

Their spirits flew in the universe and rejoyced in their oneness. Today, their spirits are still within the earth, and are fulfilled with each dawn.

They now only live in the dawn. Now it is all forgotten and the people of this land have become phantoms on the real path. When the people lost their beauty, they became only bodies, only greed for objects. They forgot the wisdom, and squeezed life from all they reached. They reached your land and they burnt and raped and tore life from their mother. The wind in our land cried at our ignorance, and asked where its children had gone. We only exploited and left your people in the wastelands.

You who still live in the way — you continue and you fulfill. You are the dawn. In spring, the winter ends, and summer begins. The tree people and flower people and the small animals are renewed to begin a new life. Everything that seemed dead is returned to the earth from its bundle in the universe.

Your prayers at Akwesasne, the prayers of the people within their sacred homes, the smoke from the sacred pipes, rise to the Creator and help him to renew the world and the people. Crows who soar on the spirit wind pray. The trees that rustle in the spirit wind pray. The stones exist in thy spirit wind and pray.

We who have not found peace can only read about the beauty of the medicine being made. Your paper is a channel for medicine and it helps me in a life that is all I have. Thank you NOTES.

Steven Knight
West Midlands, England

For the Unborn Generations

NOTES: In a time when only rocks endure, I find it increasingly hard to understand the vicious lusts of my own white brethren. I cannot talk with my friends of nature anymore, for they have gone to places where bulldozers and jet planes have yet to discover. These friends, being apprehensive of my own white heritage, are afraid to pass on directions to their hideaway in the deserts and forests, in fear that locusts will follow in my footsteps should I come to talk and be with them. These things and many others of these times in which I seek to survive cause me unspeakable sadness.

AKWESASNE NOTES and the White Roots of Peace have helped me greatly to understand the needs of the Indian — to exist in one's own time with the knowledge of one's fathers for the good of one's unborn children.

Nimrod Funk
Houston, Texas

Extending Roots of Peace

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I just want to tell you how grateful I am to the White Roots of Peace for coming to our city. I and my friends enjoyed their public program very much.

Lisa Forbis
Amarillo, Texas

[Reservations, urban Indian centers, and prison groups wanting to arrange for meetings with White Roots of Peace/Akwesasne Notes people should contact them at Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. Persons attending colleges should encourage student activities boards and departments to sponsor the group on their campus by arranging with Royce Carleton, 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017. The Editors]

The Struggle of the Mayans

NOTES: I am an anthropology student with a great deal of sympathy for, but not yet knowledge of, the Indian struggle for self-determination in this country. I am much more familiar with the situation of aboriginal neighbors to the south in Mexico, and especially, Belize (which was called British Honduras before a wave of nationalism swept the country a few years ago.)

The Maya were the last aboriginal group in Central America to be subjugated to Spanish slavery and associated ills. Their formal leadership was liquidated in the beginning of the 18th century, but up until about 1935, the eastern coast of Yucatan was no-man's land for anyone with a white skin. The Maya, after 400 years of unceasing struggle against cultural domination, were finally crushed by the Mexican army's overwhelming forces in the 1930s in such brutal slaughter, thousands emigrated across the border into British Honduras.

The eastern coast of Yucatan, called Quintana-Roo, was, I think, the last autonomous Indian state in this hemisphere (except for the particularly [militant] natives of a portion of eastern Nicaragua.) What is most disturbing to me is that the present-day Maya, though preserving a good portion of their traditional way of life, are on the verge of cultural extermination by the pressures of "civilization". At present, their political awareness is negligible, and I fear a political awakening will come too late to help.

Traditional village councils in both Mexico and Belize have been ignored by local governments, and local party politicos are appointed in their stead. From a base on the tourist resort of Cozumel, international money interests are creeping down the coast of Quintana Roo, buying up lands and building resort centers for American tourists scared of going to the Bahamas or Jamaica.

Local wildlife is being hunted out by thrill seekers who can't hunt endangered species legally here anymore. Local fisheries are being ruined by game-fishers and scuba-divers, and to me most important, the remains of the cities and cemeteries of the Maya's ancestors are being razed for building materials and looted to fill museum cases and line the pockets of New York dealers.

The British Colonial authorities in Belize (it's still a British colony, believe it or not) have had a relatively enlightened attitude and have aided the Maya to set up cooperative farming and minor industry on their reservations (yes, they have reservations down there too.) But the colony is so underdeveloped and impoverished overall that little progress has been made. Tragically, the 3-million acres of virgin rain forest which covers the country is, in the next decade, going to be raped and turned into paper and cattle-grazing land by American and Canadian corporations, which will, of course, make all of the profit.

This is the most painful part for me — the real damage to the land and to the spirit of the Maya has not been done yet, but I can see the day when the Maya will be worse off than any North American tribe. The transformation from lush, green jungle to monotonous fields of scrubby grass spotted with Brahman cattle has begun, and in a way, what will happen to the land parallels what will happen to the spirit of the people.

I am at a loss to think of anything I can do to stop the process. The people there know how helpless they are at the hands of a government run by urban blacks and colonial white authorities.

Remember — you have almost a hundred million aboriginal brothers throughout Central and South America. Many are just starting the struggle the North American Indians have been fighting for three hundred or so years. [Many of them] know the struggle of their North American brethren only from the efforts of Hollywood.

Rick Wilk
Tucson, Arizona

Land Is The Basis of A Nation

NOTES: The Indian people at the turn of the 19th Century were a part of a world-wide process — the process of colonization by England, France, United States and Canada. Although this same process began much earlier in our history, it was at this time that organized and open rebellion around the principles of national self-determination occurred. Our heroic ancestors (Louis Riel, Dumont, Geronimo, Sitting Bull and many more) fought long and hard against this colonization. Their struggle was one of self-determination as an independent nation.

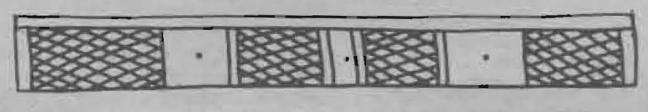
Their struggles did not take place in isolation; everywhere throughout the world colonized people rose up in rebellion against the colonizers. At the time of the Riel Rebellion, the peoples of China rose up in a mighty story against the colonizers [as did]the peoples of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Brazil, the many nations of Africa, Asia, and South America. All were defeated, but as today is the witness of great changes in the world, the defeat was temporary. Today, the United Nations Assembly is made up of countries [of] peoples formerly colonized [who] have gained national independence.

This has had a profound impact on the world — each new victory for colonized peoples has served as an inspiration to other peoples still struggling. Further, the peoples of the world recognize that all colonized people have a common struggle and they aid each other in the building of their nations. It is in this same context that we must view our struggle.

Our history has been one of colonization ever since the first settler came to this land. There is a peculiarity about our history of colonization in North America, however, and that is that we now constitute a minority living within the same geo-political boundaries as the mother country, and though we are generally excluded from the citizenship that others enjoy by virtue of their birth, we are kept dependent by "welfare statism". Further, the nationals of our nation[s] are determined by a "legal" colonial status. Culturally, politically, socially and economically, the metis, Eskimo, Inuit, Treaty and Status Indians share a common history. We are divided by Canadian [and United States] law only — which is, of course, not our law.

As a colonized people, though we are a minority vis a vis the settler population, we have a right to self-determination. We have a right to national independence. And yet, we have no control over our lives, our children's schooling. This foreign government has kept us in a state of dependence and domination so complete that we are afraid to call ourselves a nation. We call ourselves societies, charitable organizations, associations, anything but a nation of peoples!

As an internal colony, not only do we have no political, economic, or social control over our lives — we don't even have land any longer. And we needn't feel that status and treaty Indians got a "better deal" — at the time of confederation and the institution of reserves [in Canada], the native peoples of the land got one-sixteenth the land per family that Canadian settlers got and that was before the mass expropriation of our lands by industrialists, railroad corporations, and land speculators! We are all in the same boat.



We need land. Land is the basis of any nation.

Before the government tells us what rights we may struggle for, we need to establish for ourselves that first, we are an historically-colonized people, and as such we have an inalienable right to independence as a nation and that this right is not negotiable. And secondly, that all rights proposed to us by the foreign government in Ottawa are abnegated by that singular right — the right to national self-determination. Accepting the Canadian legal definition of who our countrymen are is accepting the authority of the Canadian Government over our land and its peoples. When we have our independence as a nation, we will define our own laws, rights, and so forth, and what we need now is the land and the fulfillment of our right to independence. We must decide who are our countrymen and where our national territory lies before any negotiations concerning aboriginal title or any other rights offered by the mother country takes place.

With that in mind, we need to establish our national boundaries. We need to determine the quantity of land that would allow us to be economically, socially, and politically self-sufficient. Only national independence and the meeting of the land requirements of statehood will end the dependence our people suffer from. Only complete control over our nation's natural resources and an end to the exploitation of our lands by foreign businesses will allow us to tap the creative power and ability of our people.

Native Study Group
POBox 35663 Station E
Vancouver, B.C. V6M 4G9

Welcome to the Celebration

FOLKS: A note of appreciation for another excellent issue. Don't be upset about it being late because it's much more important than any deadline. When I was working with the legal committee in Rapid City and Sioux Falls, we used to eagerly await your latest issue. When it arrived, we all celebrated. The whole work of the committee stopped for a few hours as we hungrily read every single word — that's how important AKWESASNE NOTES is.

Roger Blacklow
Washington, D.C.

Light on a Dim Trail

NOTES: This is an appeal for the aid of the traditional spiritual leaders and medicine people. It is needed here that they would send us, via tape, letters, or any way or communication, visit if possible — guidance, words of wisdom, spiritual council, traditional prayers, song, and rituals.

We have several Indian organizations in the nearby area who are great for social get-togethers, arts and crafts, some political activities, dances, etc., but it seems to some of us that we are lacking in the area of the inner man. So in order that our children may grow up in the Indian way, we realize we must now compete with organized Christian churches for our children's minds and hearts. We also realize that governmental agencies tend to disregard the Indian's right-of-belief if he can show no "church membership". So we determined to have those folks who shore sincere desire to grow up in the Wakan-way, meet in various times where we sit in a circle and each — as he feelsthe need to speak or pray for our mutual good — may stand and do so uninterrupted. We respect everyone's rights to their beliefs and allow no argument — all get their turn in polite respectable silence. Thus we and our children learn and teach what we may.

But we have need of outside instruction. We humbly and sincerely ask you to write or record what teachings as you would be willing to share with us. We need to know much as we wish to properly use the holy pipe, to conduct sweats and healing services if possible. We want to know the old ways on naming our children, and we look forward to even seeing the day where we may perform an Indian wedding. We wish to prepare for the eventuality of conducting each other — our brothers and sisters — into their spirit journeys with proper Indian dignity.

We just now dimly view that good trail that is on the rainbow. We need the helping hand of those already walking the way of life. Thank you to NOTES — through you the traditional way is strengthened.

WaKeeOn Wakon
Richard Craker
POBox 262
Monett, Missouri 65708

Navajo Library Needs

NOTES: We are in the process of contacting people about the Window Rock Public Library. Window Rock is the Navajo Tribal Headquarters for the Navajo Nation. The Reservation land consists of 16 million acres covering most of Northern Arizona and spreading into New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. Annual income per capita for adults is $800. And our people in a time of spiralling costs suffer incredible hardships. But they want to learn, they want to acquire skills, and most of the time have no opportunity to do so except through books.

The Window Rock Public Library serves not only the community of Window Rock, which has 31,000 people, but the whole reservation. The library has been in existance since 1940, through volunteer workers who donated books, time, and effort. In 1973, the library was placed under the Museum and Research Department of the Navajo Tribe.

The library at present owns 2,000 books, mostly fiction and mystery paperbacks wholly useless to the many young middle-aged people who come to borrow books for educational self-improvement reasons. The few dozen reference books we have are hopelessly outdated. Our science and medical books were copyrighted during the early 1940s, and the math books prior to 1958 — we do not have one single book that deals with the New Math. We desperately need to update our books for our high school students and community college students for the coming school year.

We need books in these special areas: automotive repair, architecture, accounting, construction, electronics, electricity, agriculture, solar energy, small business management, economics, range and soil conservation, irrigation, waste disposal methods, water quality control, books on other native peoples and general books on native subject matter. We also need maps, geography books, and books about other countries. Our maps were copyrighted in 1927 and show the old boundaries.

Our library is very important to the Navajo people in their struggle to overcome economic deprivation. We have been learning from outdated books about a world made obsolete by the space age.

We will appreciate any help or support to the library.

Charity Y. Terry
Window Rock Public Library
Box 233
Window Rock, Arizona 86515

The Midnight Special

GREETINGS, Brothers and Sisters of NOTES: I am a member of the Midnight Special, a prison publication that prints letters, poems, and things that happen to prisoners. I write you in warm revolutionary ferver knowing that your paper is widely read by prisoners around the country.

I want to also say that I am a Puerto Rican that has suffered so much. I have realized your struggle is a reflection of mine. As a brother who understands your struggle, I want to say keep up the good work in which you are involved

Che Nieves
National Lawyers Guild
23 Cornelia St.
New York, N.Y. 10014

Reverent, Balanced Content

NOTES: Some thoughts on your paper. One of the problems of the white movement is its inability to relate to spirituality in any way other than rejection. This makes the papers of the movement unbalanced, i.e., we are very limited in our ability to relate to the death of a friend. The primary feeling of your paper, however, is one of balance — reverence, political news of this continent, and other continents.

Margaret Siegal
Berkeley, California

Looking After Our Children

NOTES: I'd don't think I could look my son in the face if he grows up and finds I did nothing to help my own people. There are so many connected ideas that are starting to make some sense to me — our children are precious and what we do now affects the world they will inherit.

A lot of the women here have abandoned the old ways of raising children and have replaced them with white ways that are killing our people and stunting their spirit, intellect, and bodies. The white people are discovering our wisdom, but some of our own people are rejecting it. They want to be white, but still they have to come to terms with their Indianness.

From the Indian women, I would like to receive your letters telling me how you are raising your children, whether you are nursing, what type of foods you feed your children, and anything you would tell me about the way your family lives.

Linda Keeper
Box 40
Fort Churchill, Manitoba R0B 0K0

Shalom.

NOTES: Last summer, you printed an article on John Mohawk's talk about the origins of the white man's way of thinking, surely a major contribution toward understanding European statist society and its relations with tribal peoples. It is only after much hesitation and some study that I wish to question one statement, not to challenge, but to strengthen the overall direction I sense in this fine essay.

John Mohawk is quite correct when he says that Jesus said the people should follow "the Old Ways of the Judaens. And that one of the things which the Judaens believed was that man . . . was to have sovereignty over all the things of the earth."

The difficulty comes when we try to understand what it means to have "sovereignty over all the things of the earth." Clearly, what the Old Ways of the Judeans meant by sovereignty is radically different from the kind of sovereignty which the European Church has claimed. The Church and the States to which it gives its blessing have claimed for themselves an absolute sovereignty. Between them, they hold the keys to the kingdoms of this world and the next — and all authority flows from their will.

The Old Ways, as they are understood by those who still attempt to follow them, teach a very different kind of sovereignty which belongs not to the king or the priests, but to "man", i.e., to all men who come together under the shelter of those Old Ways. Man's role is to make room on the Earth for the Creator to re-unite with his Creation.

Man's sovereignty in the Old Ways is not permission to make up rules convenient to his own ends, or to the glory of the Church. Moses is forbidden to enter Canaan, and David forbidden to build the Temple because they shed blood. Samuel warns the people that if they set up a king and "become a nation like other nations" the king will usurp for himself the laws of the Creation. And throughout the period of the kings of Judah, there is a tension between the prophets and the kings. . . every prophet in the Old Testament accosts and denounces the king.

The problem to which John Mohawk points is real, but it did not originate with groups of Jews arguing among themselves about the meaning of our Old Ways. It originated more likely in the 4th Century after Jesus' death when Constantine adopted Christianity as a state religion.

The lesson in this tragic history is the danger of adopting someone else's ways. It is said that when those Old Ways were handed down as the "written law" there was also an Oral Law without which the written could not be understood. Those who appropriated to themselves the written law failed to understand that they possessed the lock, but not the key. Is this not much the same taking-ways that has visited so much suffering on this continent? May we both grow strong in the ways of our forefathers who cared for their children and their flocks and did not presume to inflect their Ways on other Peoples. Shalom.

Michael Posluns
Aylmer, Quebec

A Plea from a Brother

NATIVE BROTHERS & SISTERS: I am very appreciative of the book that you sent to me — the Trail of Broken Treaties is one more example of the need for change. It must be drastic change, not slow progression, but complete overhaul of this government.

Many times since my struggle against this system began in July, 1970, you have shared in that struggle with me. I do not forget that spirit of true love. Eighteen months in prison for refusing to train to kill other people, and this 21 months in prison for fighting for poor people, black people, and all people — it is not a great price to pay.

I am 23, and have been fortunate to know many good people who fought along beside me for peace and justice. Now I face five more years. On October 19, 1974, I walked away from the Federal Youth Center at Ashland, Kentucky, in protest of President Ford's pardon of Nixon and token amnesty program. How can they chase native Americans, poor people, black people, and white people who care and murder us, then pardon each other?

They have beat my body many times because I do not accept them as authority over me. I have seen brothers die at this hospital for lack of treatment.

Today [July 14, 1975] is the 114th day that I have fasted for peace, justice, and love between all peoples.

1I do not mean to burden you, but I did wan to share some of this with you. Your cause is my cause, your breath is my breath, your hurt is my hurt. We are both of the earth, and shall return to the earth.

About two weeks, I go back to court. At my trial, I refused to participate. I did not answer their charges nor associate with any of their counsels. A group of concerned people in Lexington, Kentucky, have helped me keep people informed. We are in need of funds. Could you possibly give $26 towards the printing of a release after the trial? If you can, please notify me here, but send the money to

James Driggers
c/o Tom Parsons
454 So. Ashland Ext.
Lexington, Kentucky 40502

Another person has agreen to pay postage, another bought envelopes, and I turn to my brothers in spirit for printing costs.

Pray for me as you come together. I am being taken out of the hospital to court against doctor's orders.

James Driggers
POBox 4000 I
Springfield, Missouri 65802

Reading Material Wanted

NOTES: A prison group needs reading materials. They sure could use any books your readers would be able to send. Contact: American Indian Cultural Group, 27270-120, POBox 1000, Leavenworth, Kansas 66048.

Jerry Andrews
Dearborn, Michigan

Cleaning Up the Hudson

NOTES: I'm doing an anthology of poems and art on the Hudson River with Tom Whyatt who is well-known here as the "Keeper of the Hudson." He has been and is yet highly active and often singularly responsible for taking big and small polluters of this beautiful river to court. He works for Pete Seeger, the folk singer, and the Clearwater Sloop, highly committed to halting the money-interest destruction of the river, which we believe is owned by the Indians.

I am so peeved by the inconsistancies in the European history of our river as given and accepted for the past 400 years, written by Robert Juet of Hudson's Half Moon, who sailed here for the purpose of exploitation in India, and ended up setting inthe patroonships of the Dutch upper classes, as is well known. We find gross problems with the history given by the Europeans — on the beginning of the voyage, the record keeper spoke of the Indians as civilized and loving. On the return voyage, the Indian was "savage". We need the real information on this early interaction between the white European and the Indian. Could you put us in touch with someone who would know. Also, we need Indian poets, illustrators, photographers, writers, to submit to us.

Charles Hayes
158 Depew St.
Peekskill, New York

Born Free & Oglala

NOTES: I was born and raised on the Independent Oglala Nation, and have been aware of Indian repression for quite some time now. We are gradually forgetting what we once had, and I want to try to get across to the people what's happening.

I would like to see spirit back within the movement. It seems as though we have forgotten that, as we continue with our struggle to upright ourselves. We have to have that spiritual part of the movement, as that is what we are — a spiritual movement fighting to regain identity.

We needed the Great Spirit in Wounded Knee, and I know for a fact that we weren't let down. Now I ask you, why are we forgetting? How can we be so foolish and stupid to forget a part of ourselves just because we won at Wounded Knee and are winning within the court systems of the United States Government?

I would like to see some proud brothers and sisters someday, but not because of some victories we have won, but because we know we had the help of the Great Spirit with us throughout our struggle. That's who we have to have walking beside us, holding our hands, guiding us, talking to us with wisdom and giving us strength.

Let's get ourselves together and be one. The people need us. We're here for the people.

Jason Little
Independent Oglala Nation

CONTACTS

Back issues of the American Journal of Nursing *and* RN Magazine *are available without cost to any native American nursing student, healer, medical person, or college who would find them useful. First come, first serve. Contact: Laurie Web b, Om Shanti Community, 4247 Ogden Drive, Fremont, California 94538.*

A collection of 43 outstanding native artists from the Southern Plains will be presented at the Museum of the Plains Indian in Browning, Montana, until September 30. A companion exhibition, Contemporary Indian Artists of Montana/Wyoming/Idaho is at the Southern Plains Indian Museum in Anadarko, Oklahoma at the same time. Both shows feature contemporary artists and are outstanding collections.

A director for the American Indian Studies Center of UCLA is needed with applications closing September 30. The Center has a staff of six, several publications, and a major library. Contact: Professor Gary B. Nash, Chairman, American Indian Studies Center Search Committee; Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024.

Native nurses are invited to apply for one of 35 fellowships in mental health care. The annual awards are up to $7,500 plus other allowances, and applications close December 15, 1975. Contact: Ruth Gordon, Director, Registered Nurse Fellowship Program, American Nurses' Association, 2420 Pershing Road, Kansas City, Missouri 64108 or call (816) 474-6720 ext. 242.

, A newly-formed cultural, educational, and social group dedicated to giving support to native people invite all persons of American Indian descent to contact: Janice Lee Moore, POBox 873, Union, New Jersey.

The North American Survival and Homesteading Association has a "survival catalogue" of useful and hard-to-find sources of information on self-sufficiency. It's only 25 cents, and will be an interesting resource to people learning their way back home. Write: NASHA, Box 4077, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1M4.

Students wanting an associate of arts degree in special education for working with handicapped children are invited to apply for admission and a minimum stipend at: Sinte Gleska College, attn: Bill Azevedo, Rosebud, South Dakota 57570 or phone (605) 747-2263. Teachers of special education are also needed for employment.

A moving pamphlet, "Women Behind Bars", gives an overview of the active prison movement for radical change in women's prisons. It is useful for those who would like to support their sisters in prison, as well as feminists who seek to learn from the experiences of women under strong sexist conditioning and control. The 56-page booklet is free to prisoners, $1.75 to others. Contact: Resources for Community Change, POBox 21066, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Third World Students at UCLA are recruiting students in Motion Pictures or Television for the 1976-1977 academic year, a long way off, so that all obstacles to enrollment can be cleared in advance. The program is an effort to have minority influence in the media. Contact: Lionel Herodia, Third World Communications, UCLA Chicano Studies Dept. Campbell Hall Room 3121, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, California 90025.

The Conference for a Relevant Social Science will hold its fifth annual meeting in Chicago in March, 1976. The CRSS is dedicated to enhancing radical and alternative progressive scholarship by bringing together people from all disciplines both in and out of academia. Persons wishing to participate should contact: William A. Pelz, Program Coordinator, Box 198, Political Science, Roosevelt University, 430 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60605.

The College of Engineering at University of New Mexico has received a $300,000 grant from the Sloan Foundation to conduct a pilot program for native American students in engineering. An Engineering Institute will be conducted this summer to introduce students to the realities of the profession of engineering. Navajos and Pueblos are especially being recruited. Professional native American engineers are urgently needed in the Southwest to study serious problems of water allotment, irrigation systems, river diversion works, dams, land use, road construction, electric power plants, strip mining, coal gasification, air and water pollution to advise tribal councils on alternate choices to be made regarding development of natural resources. Contact: Ms. Carol Metcalf, NAPCOE, Engineering 321, UNM, Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

An executive director for New York City's American Indian Community House is sought beginning immediately at a salary of $17,000 on up. No formal educational requirements, but proven ability is necessary. Contact: AICH, 40 E 35 St., New York, N.Y. 10016 (212) 532-4897.

"Operation Thundercloud" is being organized to make a "massive legal attack on a world-wide scale in the name of native Americans" to protest the birthday of the U.S. in 1976. It hopes to educate native Americans enough about the law so that each one will be able to file at lease one lawsuit in the broad field of cultural images being used for commercial purposes. Contact: John A. Casper, 657 Wales St. Scranton, Pennsylvania 18509 or call (717) 347-8390.

poetry

go home....

ORATION BY AN UNKNOWN QUECHAN

Oh People! Our hearts are good and strong.
We can work all day. This sickness
goes away – I know it.
I myself go away alone
in the house. I lie down on the bed
and forget everything. All this fades away.
All the sick hearts of our people will change.
This day is passing away now;
We are all together now.
We will think well now that we are
all together in this place. I tell you
when we lose a strong man our hearts
cannot be good. So are we now
but we must not think about it.
We must think about our being all together.
I will finish now. I will finish well.
We think about our being all together,
People, it will be well.
This day is going. We
commune with one another.
I will find our strength. I will find our good.
My body was not good when I lay down alone.
On that I rely.
Our thoughts are sick, but our hearts will change.

Nisgas

1887

What we don't like
about the Government is their saying,
"We will give you this much land."
How can they "give" it when it is our own?
We cannot understand it.
They have never bought it from us
or from our Forefathers. They have never fought.
Vanquished and taken our land that way
And yet they now say
They will give us so much land –
Our own land.

1919

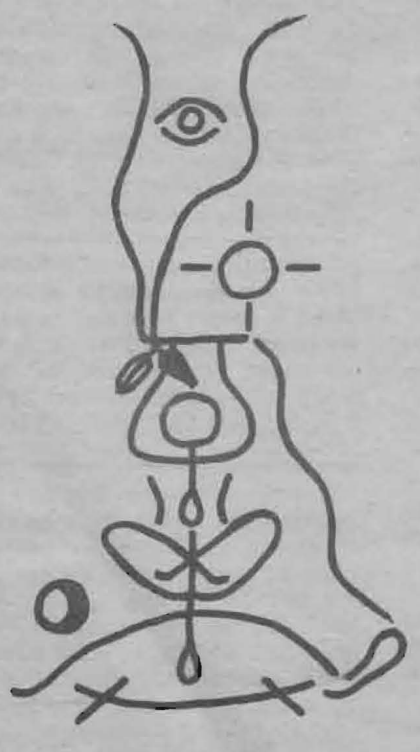
Considering
That no cession of their territorial rights
Has ever been done by the Indians of the North-west;
That the land reserved to them is arbitrarily chosen
Inadequate to their support and needs,
And was set aside without their full consent;
That they are not averse to hostility
In order to enforce rights impossible to deny:

Decisive action is imperative,
With justice the goal,
Brotherly love the guide and guardian.

1972

From time immemorial, we of the Nishgas
Possessed, occupied and used
The valley of the Nass River.
We hunted in its woods,
Fished in its waters,
Roamed and camped on shore and hillside,
Lived with the privileges of free men,
And buried our dead in our homeland.
Having ceded neither victory
Nor title to our tribal lands,
We shall not be extinguished.

– Brian Mayne



yvonne él shí łi nish yé

i am far
away from home
with nothing familiar around me.
even the cries of nature are strange to my ears.
the young bird becomes a vulture and the dog becomes a fox.
the distant sun is crowded
by
false facts. the kiva and the sweat lodge are no
longer
in my mind. i need to come home.

– yvonne johnson

The People

The heart of the Revolution
is the People

The fire of the Revolution
is the People

You cannot destroy the love
of the People

You cannot destroy the
ideology
of the People

You cannot destroy the
People

You cannot destroy the
Revolution

– Isidro Gali Jr.

Crazy Horse Monument (to the sculptor)

Hailstones falling like sharp blue sky chips
howling winds the brown grass bends, while
buffalo paw and stamp and blow billowing steam,
and prairie wolves chorus the moon in moaning.

The spotted snake of a village on the move
a silent file of horses rounding hills,
in a robe of grey, the sky chief clutches thunder
and winter seeks to find the strongest men.
Crazy Horse rides the circle of his people's sleep,
from Little Big Horn to Wounded Knee,
Black Hills, their shadows are his only robe
dark breast feathers of a future storm.

Those of broken bodies piled in death,
of frozen blood upon the white of snow,
yours is now the sky chant of spirit making,
pacing the rhythm of Crazy Horse's mount.

And he would cry in anger of a single death,
and dare the guns of mounted soldiers blue,
for his was the blood and pulse of rivers,
and mountains and plains taken in sacred trust.
Crazy Horse rides the circle of his people's sleep,
from Little Big Horn to Wounded Knee,
Black Hills, their shadows are his only robe
dark breast feathers of a future storm.

And what would he think of the cold steel chisel,
and of dynamite blasting a mountain's face,
what value the crumbled glories of Greece and Rome,
to a people made cold and hungry?

To capture in stone the essence of a man's spirit,
to portray the love and respect of children and elders,
fashion instead the point of a hunting arrow sharp,
and leave to the elements the wearing-down of time.
Crazy Horse rides the circle of his people's sleep,
from Little Big Horn to Wounded Knee,
Black Hills, their shadows are his only robe
dark breast feathers of a future storm.

– Blue Cloud
Dec. 22, 1973

look yonder and see
with eyes long unused
A new, Old Nation
Which has been there
all along.
Even though you haven't
listen and hear
With ears long unused
the wailing of Honored Ancestors
voices
Or is it only the wind
sacred songs – now sung
at dances an' shows,
Hear the jingle of $
Feel with emotions long forgotten
Damp tears of Honored Ancestors
fall in the rain. . .Or
do you only feel bad whiskey
Burn your insides
Do you wonder at what the tears
are for?
A new Old Nation moves
towards those who are
worthy.
Udohiyu!

awaninsgi
ayu Udsdi hauhya

For Native People

Native warriors,
Natural women & children
Who fought & died
For Rain, Fire & Mother Earth
Branded renegades
fighting with grassblade grenades
Death comes un-braced
Fast & not one at a time
Now rest your eyes
Lay upon sunlight
Ever into night
Dress your wounds
On silver full moonlight
Rest your bodies
on your Mother Earth
With your spirits
Go home
Go home

– Juan Reyna

The good die old, the good die young
Good people keep on dying –
And we who have been left behind,
Though weary, must keep trying.
Trying to maintain our ways
And to rebuild our nations –
To fight for treaty promises,
against discrimination.
To learn things from our elders,
And teach them to our young,
To live (and die) as Indians
(when our time to die has come.)

– Bob Bacon

Listen to the ground....
a new cycle has begun
A rock sitter has found
meaning as one....

Generation

I saw your youngest daughter
Sitting in an Indian bar
She said you were a war hero,
An athlete, a star!
How did things get down to this
That started out so good?
Victim of the country
for which you shed your blood.
Victim of a system
For which you had such pride,
War hero, star & athlete –
When did you die inside?
When did your branches wither?
When did your roots give way?
When did your children notice
And fight to break away?
When did they fall like dry leaves
Upon your broken roots?
When did the tree that flowered once
Break out with bitter fruits?
The children of your children?
When will the sorrow end?
I'd spill my blood beneath the tree
To grow new roots, my friend.

– Bob Bacon